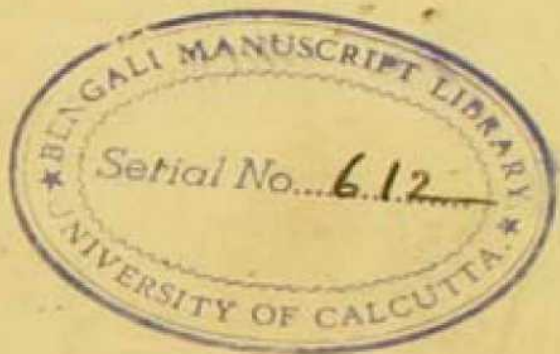




THE MAHĀRAṢṬRA PURĀṆA



BY
TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

SIT
22/10/19
DA

[*Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of
Letters, Vol. XIX*]

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929



BCU
4042

655704

THE MAHĀRĀṢṬRA PURĀṆA.

BY

TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

First Chapter, Bhāskar Parābhava, by Gaṅgārām Bhāt. Substance, country-made paper, size 14" × 5½". Folia 1-6. Lines, 12 to 14 on a page. Date 14th Pauṣa, Saturday, 1672 Śaka and 1158 B.S. ; condition, soiled and worn-out in part. Hand-writing, good.

INTRODUCTION.

The present Bengali manuscript, the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa (Chapter I) was discovered by the late Mr. Kedarnath Majumdar of Mymensingh, who first brought it to public notice in an Industrial-Agricultural Exhibition held at the town of Mymensingh in 1311 (B. S.). Unfortunately the book is incomplete. But though it consists of only six folia, it gives within that small compass a tolerably large mass of historical materials. The matter treated in these few pages pertains to the First Chapter ; but it is complete in itself beginning with the Maratha incursions of Bengal in 1743 A. D. and ending in the death of the Maratha leader Bhāskar Paṇḍit in 1744 A. D.

The native place of the poet Gaṅgārām is not known. From the fact that the manuscript in question was found out in a village of Mymensingh Mr. K. N. Majumdar surmised that Gaṅgārām was a native of that district. It has also been said of him that though he was an inhabitant of Mymensingh, he passed many years in Murshidabad, the then capital of Bengal, where he had opportunities of knowing the incidents of Maratha invasion direct. From the spelling of certain words indicating the intonation of

the people of 'Rāḍha Deśa,' Mr. Byomkesh Mustafi imagined that Gaṅgārām was probably a native of the Burdwan district.¹ Prof. Jogendranath Samaddar stated, on what authority I do not know, but probably following Mr. K. N. Majumdar's assertion, that the descendants of the poet still lived in Mymensingh.² A theory has been started that the manuscript in question is in the hand-writing of the poet himself and much conjecture is rife in regard to such points, but we are not prepared to countenance any of these, as no historical evidence has yet been adduced to prove any of them.

The date (14th Pauṣa, Saturday, 1672 Śaka and 1158 B. S.) given at the end of the poem is believed by some to be that of the composition of the poem. In that case Gaṅgārām himself might have written this manuscript.³ It is usual with the scribes to give their names at the end of the manuscripts. As, however, in the present case, no such name is found, but the date is given, one might suppose that the poet himself was the scribe. But after all, these are conjectures on which we cannot fully rely.

The date of the poem is 1751 A. D. according to Mr. Mustafi and Prof. Samaddar, and 1750 A. D. according to a recent writer on the subject.⁴ This discrepancy in respect of dates is due to a misapprehension. If a close scrutiny is made it will be found that the discrepancy is an imagined one, and that the Śaka and the Bengali Eras refer to the same date, *e.g.*, 1750 A. D. There is, besides, a specific mention of

¹ See the article কবি গঙ্গারাম ও মহারাষ্ট্র পুরাণ, Sāhitya-Pariṣad Patrikā, Part IV, 1313 B. S., p. 193, by Byomkesh Mustafi.

² See "The Maratha Invasions of Bengal" in 1743, by Prof. J. N. Samaddar,—Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. XXVII, p. 55.

³ See বাঙ্গালার বঙ্গীয় হাজিরার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ, by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part II, 1335 B. S.

⁴ Babu Chintaharan Chakravarti, writer of the article, বাঙ্গালার বঙ্গীয় হাজিরার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ : see Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part II, 1335 B. S.

INTRODUCTION

3

the exact day and month, which exactly show the correct time of the copy (1750 A. D.).

In discussing about the poet Gaṅgārām and his poem, Mr. Mustafi makes the remark—"কবির দক্ষিণ সহরের সাহরাজা যে কে, তাহা নির্ণয় করিতে পারি নাই ; কারণ ভাস্কর পণ্ডিত যখন আসেন, তখন মহারাষ্ট্রে বালাজী রাও পেশওয়া রাজত্ব করিতেন।" (Sābitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Part IV, 1313 B. S., p. 194.)

Sāhu,¹ the grandson of Sivaji, is a well-known and conspicuous historical figure. The word 'দক্ষিণ সহর' evidently refers to a town in the Deccan. The name of his capital Satara is also to be found in the poem. We do not know how in the face of these significant historical facts there should be any hesitancy felt in identifying the great prince Sahu of the Maratha history. Further, that the poet did not care to mention adequately the names of the commanders who served under the Nawab of Bengal (Aliverdy Khan), is also unfounded, as will be shown later on.

Mr. Mustafi observed that Bhāskar's worshipping the Goddess Durgā is not justified as the Marathas do not worship that deity. All such reflections we consider to be mere gibberish. There are many sects amongst the Marathas and the worship of Śakti is nowhere interdicted in their religious code. Further, all facts of Bhāskar's life are not described anywhere that we know of. The omission of an incident in stray historical treatises does not justify its rejection.

Prof. J. N. Samaddar of the Patna University published a free translation of the book in the periodical "Bengal, Past and Present" in the year 1924 (Jan.-June), Vol. XXVII.² The translation gives in many places a mere gist of the

¹ During the reign of Sāhu, three Peshwas (chief ministers) succeeded one another, *e. g.*, Bālājī Viśvanāth, Bājī Rāo, and Bālājī Rāo. It was during the Peshwaship of Bālājī Rāo who became Peshwa in 1740 A. D. (August) that the Maratha raids in Bengal occurred.

² Before this translation Mr. Samaddar referred about the Mahārāstra Purāṇa in his articles on Seir-ul-Mutakherin in Bengal, Past and Present (Vol. XXV, Jan.-June, 1921, pp. 158-163). Besides he devoted another article on the subject entitled "The Bargi

Bengali work omitting much of its details which we believe to be important. As the descriptions given by Gaṅgārām of this momentous period of the history of Bengal show the point of view of a Bengali, these details possess a unique interest. We have already Mahomedan and Maratha accounts of these times. The Bengalis, however, suffered greatly from the Bargi raids and the tale told by one of them, who was a contemporary writer, has the value of directness and a picturesque presentment of the psychological side of a suffering population. It ushers us straight into the arena of the military operations, giving occasionally such informations as no other historical account would provide. It has therefore been found necessary to give here a full literal translation of the texts omitting nothing of its details. We have, besides, given exhaustive notes relating to each of the historical episodes involved. The readers will find an opportunity to compare the different versions of the same historical event given by the different writers.

The chief interest of the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa lies in the fact that it gives a graphic description of the ravages of the Maratha army and some very valuable details about the routes followed by the Marathas in Bengal and also the localities in which they committed their marauding depredations. There are certain differences as regards some historical details about the raids. Special attention should be drawn to the circumstances leading to the expedition undertaken by the Bargis as the Maratha raiders were called. In the Bengali manuscript we find that Sahu demanded 'chouth' for Bengal from the then Emperor of Delhi (Mohammed Shah) who expressed his inability to comply with it on the ground that his authority was hardly recognised in the Province.

The Emperor suggested that Sāhu should himself invade Bengal for realising the 'chouth.' The advice was accepted and Sāhu directed Raghuji (Raghuji Bhonslā of Nagpur) to take the responsibilities by leading an army into Bengal for the purpose. Raghurāja, however, did not personally take up the task and he, in his turn, appointed his deputy named Bhāskar-vana or Bhāskar Paṇḍit to march at the head of a Maratha army. It will be seen from the quotations in the early portion of the poem dealing with the Maratha raids in Bengal that our poet's description of the cause of the raids does not fully tally with the historical facts. His account of the interview of Bhāskar Paṇḍit with Aliverdy Khan is also different. Again it should be remembered here that our poet gives a somewhat different story regarding the last interview of Bhāskar Paṇḍit with Aliverdy Khan at Monkora. Grant Duff in his Maratha history does not give any detail while Mutakherin, which is a much later work than the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa, gives some details of this interview which do not agree with that of Gaṅgārām. We are inclined to give a greater credit to the account of Gaṅgārām as he wrote it only seven years after the occurrence of the said event. Gaṅgārām says, the Nawab outwardly put on a friendly appearance and left the place on a frivolous plea, and as he never returned and as it was getting late, the Maratha general left the Durbar accompanied by the leading men of both sides. As he was just going to mount his horse he was cut to pieces by somebody from behind. But Mutakherin makes the following statement :—

“When the Viceroy asked in an audible voice which of those eminent officers was the valorous Bha-Sukur Pandit ? And having been answered on the point by Mirza-Hekim-beg, who pointed to him with the finger, as did many others who had been stationed there for that purpose, the question was repeated. Three times did the Viceroy ask the question and three times was it answered by pointing with the fingers

and now Bha-Sukur drawing near, the Viceroy commanded his people to fall upon those free-booters. * * * * * Mir-Cazem-Qhan, being the foremost of all, closed with Bha-Sukur and at one stroke felled him to the ground.”¹

Besides some differences as regards these points there is another point on which our poet is silent. It was the circumstances which led to the first departure of Bhāskar from Bengal. Gaṅgārām is also studiously silent about Bālājī Bājī Rāo and Raghuji Bhonslā's attack of Bengal in person. The ravages of the Marathas, as described by Gaṅgārām, covered an extensive area. It was chiefly the present Burdwan and Presidency Divisions which suffered most from the cruelties perpetrated by the Bargis. The villages affected, named by the poet, are as follows :—

Chandrakonā, Medinipur, Dignagar, Khirpai, Burdwan, Nimgachhi, Shergā, Simaita, Chandipur, Syampur, Satsaika, Chandpur, Kalna (Kalmara, Parishaded.), Bansberia, Madwai, Jadupur, Bhatchhala, Meerjapur, Chandaḍa, Kuḍban, Palāsy, Bauchi, Beuḍa, Samudragad, Jānnagar, Nuddea, Mahatapur, Sunanthapur, Purānpur, Bhātara, Mādaḍā, Sarbhāngā, Dhitpur, Jagirabad, Kumirā, Baultali, Nimdā, Kaḍai Kaithan, Chāḍail, Siddhibākā, Ghoḍānā, Samastail, Gotpāḍā, Āgdiā, Pātani (burnt in one night), Ātāihāt, Pātāihāt, Dāinhāt, Bedā-bhāosing, Biki-hat, Indrail Pargannah, Kāgā-Mogā (Kāgā-Mogā was an inland port belonging to the Dutch), Jenuākāndi, Birbhum Pargannah, Āmdaharā, Mahādevpur, Goalābhuin, Senabhuin, Vishnupur (it was saved due to the mercy of the tutelary deity, Gopāla), Malukpādā, Sātai, Kāmnnagar, Mahunā, Chourigāchhā, Kāthālia, Ādhār-mānik, Rāngā-māitā, Goāljan, Budhaipādā, Neanispādā, Dāhāpādā and Hajiganj.

¹ For a detailed account see S. U. Mutakherin (published by R. Cambray & Co.), Vol. I, pp. 434-436.

It appears from the description of the ravages wrought by the plundering Marathas that some of these villages were in a highly flourishing condition, at the time. The author tells us how the palaces of the millionaire Jagat Seth and the Rājā of Satsaika were looted. Parts of Viṣṇupur were ravaged but Vana-Viṣṇupur, it is said, was saved through the favour of the tutelary deity Gopāla. There are many country ballads current in Birbhum describing this supernatural tale.

In this connection it should be noted that the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa mentions the Dutch port of Kāga-Mogā on the bank of the river Hooghly. The Marathas under the direction of Meer Habib requisitioned some of their sloops for transport purposes.

Gaṅgārām incidentally throws some valuable light on the composition of the Maratha army. The whole Maratha army which invaded Bengal under Bhāskar Paṇḍit was divided into several parts each under a Jamādār. Bhāskar himself was the Sardar (General) or Commander-in-chief of the army. No definite information is given as regards the exact number of soldiers who were led by each of these Jamādārs. That their position in the army was of considerable importance, unlike that of the present day, is shown by the fact that some of them are often mentioned as leading thousands. There may be some exaggeration in these statements, but the information given by the poet seems to be substantially correct. On the whole, mention is made of twenty-four Jamādārs leading the Maratha army. They were :—

- (1) Dhāmdhwamā, (2) Hirāmankasi, (3) Gangaji-Āmrā,
- (4) Simanta-Yasi, (5) Bālāji, (6) Sivāji Kohadā, (7) Sambhuji,
- (8) Kesaji Amodā, (9) Kesava Singha, (10) Mohan Singha,
- (11) Bālā Rāo, (12) Sesa Rāo, (13) Sisa Pandit, (14) Semanta
- Sehadā, (15) Hiranman Pandit, (16) Mohan Rai, (17) Siso
- Pandit, (18) Pita Rai, (19) Nirāji, (20) Sāmāji, (21) Firanga

Rai, (22) Ādi- (other letters indistinct), (23) Sultan Khan, and (24) Bhāskara.¹

It is necessary, if possible, to attempt identification of these Maratha leaders, from contemporary Maratha records that are extant even now.

On the other hand the following names of the Jamādārs who fought on the side of the Nawab of Bengal, have been mentioned by Gaṅgārām, but not noticed by Mr. Mustafi:—

(1) Mustafa Khan, (2) Samser Khan, (3) Raham Khan, (4) Karam Khan, (5) Ataula Khan, (6) Meer Jafar Khan,² (7) Umar Khan, (8) Asalat Khan, (9) Thakur Singh, (10) Fateh Haji, and (11) Chhedan Haji. Many of these commanders became famous afterwards.

It is interesting to note that there were Mahomedan officers of a superior, though unspecified, rank in the army of the Marathas. Two of them, Meer Habib and Ali Bhai (Aly-Carāol) deserve special notice. Meer Habib was a man of talent and served as the Dewan of Orissa which province was under the Government of Bengal when Aliverdy Khan slew his rivals and made himself independent. Meer Habib quarrelled with Aliverdy and joined the Marathas who first invaded Bengal at his invitation. He was of the type of Daulat Khan Lodi and Meer Jafar Khan—men who have appeared often during India's political turmoil. About Ali Bhai, we learn from Mutakherin that, “Bha-Sukur who had attached to himself Aly-Carāol, a famous General of the Deccan, to whom he had given the command of six or seven

¹ Prof. J. N. Samaddar writes Sivaji in place of Niraji, Sambhaji in place of Samaji and Kesari Singh in place of Kesava Singh, which we find in the MS. Besides in the translation he makes no mention of the illegible word. Sesa Rao has been mentioned in S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 394. Jamādār No. 24 bears the same name as that of the Commander-in-chief.

² Evidently the same Meer Jafar Khan who afterwards became the Nawab of Bengal.

thousand horse, now thought of putting his talents to a trial."¹ Aly-Carāol was, inspite of his abilities, a bit credulous which made him a puppet at the hands of Aliverdy when the former was on an embassy to the latter's camp.² This at the end proved disastrous to Bhāskar Paṇḍit so much so that it cost him his life.

The Maratha raiders were known as the 'Bargis' in Bengal. We quote below from Grant Duff the meaning and significance of this term.

"The Bargirs are the people 'next in importance in the history of the Marathas. Bargir is not a caste. Any cavalry soldier who could not supply his own horse and who was therefore left in charge of an animal belonging to a higher soldier was a Bargir. He may have belonged to any caste. He was the dread of Bengal, where he was known as Borgi. Sir Herbert Risley gives a lucid description of this Borgi—the Maratha cavalry officer." He says:—

"The following notice of it in the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson* makes the matter clear:—'A trooper of irregular cavalry who is not the owner of his troop, horse and arms (as is the normal practice) but is either put in by another person, perhaps a native officer in the regiment, who supplies horses and arms and receives the man's full pay, allowing him a reduced rate, or has his horse from the State in whose service he is. ["According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers would be the rank (*mansab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man

¹ S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 430.

² "Aaly-verdy-qhan did not cease to cultivate the Mahratta's (meaning Ali Bhai's) good disposition by plying him incessantly with everything curious, costly or delicious, either in stuffs or in fruits, whether of the growth of Bengal, or imported from abroad..... in one word, the Marhatta's mind was entirely changed; he became fond of Aalyverdy qhan, etc., etc."—S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 432.

N. B.—Here Ali Bhai is described as a Maratha, probably because he belonged to the Maratha army.

with a little money would buy extra horses, and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *Sil-dār* (literally 'equipment-holder') and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgir* ('burden-taker')—*W. Irvine.*" The army of the Indian Moghuls, J. R. A. S., July, 1896, .p. 539.]¹

Prominent mention is made of three principal officers of the Nawab in connection with the Maratha raids. One of them was a Hindu named Jānakīrām and the two others were Mahomedans named Mustapha Khan and Haji Saheb. From Mutakherin we know that "Radja Djanki-ram, Divan to Aaly-verdy-qhan, and of course a minister of the highest trust and credit with his master, who imparted to him alone his real scheme.....Radja Djanki-ram, as being himself a Hindoo as well as the Marhatta, passed whole days in his (meaning Bhāskar's) company and by that very reason proved greatly instrumental in this affair"² (meaning entrapping and assassination of Bhāskar Paṇḍit).

The writer of Mutakherin makes the following incidental observation about Mustapha Khan :—"...he (meaning Aliverdy Khan) held frequent consultations with Mustapha-qhan about the manner of destroying the invaders, and of entrapping the Marhatta general and his principal officers, in such a manner, as that the whole of them, officers and troops and all, should take a journey to nothingness..... Mustapha-qhan, who was a man of design and contrivance as well as of prowess and execution and who to those advantages joined the talent of speaking as well as he acted, could not resist so many temptations."³

¹ A History of the Mahrattas (Duff. Published by R. Cambray & Co., 1912), Vol. I, Appendix, p. iii.

² S. U. Mutakherin, Vol. I, pp. 434, 433.

N. B.—In Bengal there is a term still in existence called "বর্গী." Here in land tenure বর্গদার or কৃগচাষী is one who tills the land of another and shares the produce of land with the owner.

³ Mutakherin, Vol. I, pp. 430-431.

Haji Saheb of the present topic seems to be Sayed-Ahmed-qhan, a favourite of Aliverdy. In Mutakherin we find the following observation :—

“The subject¹ of discontent proved to be the government of Hooghly, which the Hadji wanted for himself, and which Aaly-Verdy-qhan bestowed on the Hadji's second son, Sayed-Ahmed-qhan.”

In this connection we also mention the name of Rājā Rām Singh who was Faujdār of Midnapur and was in charge of the C. I. D. Department of the Nawab.

The details of the ravages committed by the Bargis, as given in the work under notice, shows the nature and extent of the enormity of atrocities perpetrated by them. The worst sufferers were, of course, fair-looking youthful women. Inhuman cruelties were committed upon the helpless people, whose limbs were chopped off and many of them were mercilessly slaughtered.

It is regrettable to notice the entire absence of any organised effort amongst the people for resisting the reckless oppressions of these marauders. The Nawab himself proved unequal to the task, shifting his camp from place to place for avoiding an open engagement with the enemy. A general panic was raised; even the very name of the Bargis was sufficient to make the people desert their homes in a body. The ever memorable Bengali nursery rhyme current in Bengal remind one of the horrors of the Bargi invasion even to-day. The following articles contain references to the Mahārāstra Purāṇa :

- (1) কবি গঙ্গারাম ও মহারাষ্ট্র পুরাণ,

—ব্যোমকেশ মুস্তফী ।

—সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, ৩য় সংখ্যা, সন ১৩১৩, পৃঃ ১৯৩ ।

(also বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, Vol. XV, p. 249).

- (2) বঙ্গে বর্গী,

—বিহারীলাল সরকার ।

- (3) অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীর বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস, নবাবী আমল,
পৃঃ ১৪৭.

—কালীপ্রসন্ন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়।

- (4) Bengal, Past and Present.

Vol. XXV. (Jan.—June, 1923, pp. 158-163.)

- (5) Bengal, Past and Present,

Vol. XXVII, pp. 14 ff.

(English translation of the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa

by J. N. Samaddar.)

The article—"The Maratha Invasion of Bengal in 1743"

by J. N. Samaddar containing the above translation.

- (6) The Bargi Invasion of Bengal,

—J. N. Samaddar (Proceedings of the meeting
of the Indian Historical Records Commission,
Vol. VI, pp. 100 ff.).

- (7) Marhatta Invasion of Bengal, Behar and Crissa,

—J. N. Samaddar (Journal of Indian History,
1925, pp. 85 ff.).

- (8) বাঙ্গালার বর্গীর হাঙ্গামার প্রাচীনতম বিবরণ,

—চিন্তাহরণ চক্রবর্তী (সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, সন ১৩৩৫,
দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা)।^১

- (9) A brief notice of the work in "বঙ্গভাষা ও সাহিত্য" and

"A History of Bengali Language and Literature"
by D. C. Sen.

Besides the above, the following English and Persian
works contain some references about the Bargi raids in
Bengal:—

- (1) Hill's Bengal in 1756-57.

- (2) Salimulla's Tarikh-i-Bangla.

- (3) Riyaz-us-Salatin.

^১ The writer has drawn attention to an incidental reference of the Bargi raids in Bengal as given in a Sanskrit work named *বিজয়মল্ল* by Bāṇeśvar, which according to the author contains earliest reference of the Bargi troubles incidentally. The work being completed in 1744 A. D.

- (4) Seir Mutakherin.
- (5) Tarikh-i-Yusufi.
- (6) Holwell's accounts.
- (7) A History of the Marhattas (Vols. 1 & 2)
by Grant Duff.

Prof. Samaddar writes that "the Nagpur Marathas have left us no historical records and therefore, there are no Maratha sources. Neither there are any letters in Marathi, at least to my knowledge, on the subject, as these raids were undertaken by the now defunct house of Nagpur."¹

As Grant Duff based his treatment of the subject evidently on materials found partly from the Maratha manuscripts as acknowledged by him in footnotes we cannot accept Prof. Samaddar's view.

There are some words like ডেরহাতি, মনসুবাদ, মহিসবাৎ and ডেহড়, etc. in the Bengali manuscript (the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa) which are difficult to comprehend. Mr. Mustafi and Prof. Samaddar have also confessed their inability to explain the words.

We give below a brief outline of historical events which occasioned the Maratha raids in Bengal for better appreciation of the subject:—

The Maratha raids occurred when Nawab Aliverdy Khan was the ruler of Bengal. Sāhu (the grandson of Sivaji I) was the nominal head of the Maratha territories with Bālājī Bājī Rāo (Bālājī Rāo) as his Peshwa (or Prime Minister), and Raghuji Bhonslā, one of the Maratha chiefs, was the ruler of Nagpur territory with Bhāskar Punt as his Commander-in-chief. Nadir Shah's invasion of India was over just a few years ago (*e.g.*, in 1739 A. D.) and the Moghul Emperor of Delhi Mohammed Shah "had received his liberty and his crown after both had been subjected to the will of a despot."² The Central power in Delhi being weak at the time ambitious

¹ "The Maratha Invasion of Bengal in 1743" by J. N. Samaddar, Bengal Past and Present, p. 44, Vol. XXVII, Jan.-June.

² Grant Duff's "A History of the Marhattas," Vol. I, p. 459.

members of the aristocracy in various parts of India asserted their independence. Thus Aliverdy Khan established his independence in Bengal while various Marata chiefs established their authority in various parts of Western and Central India. Sāhu was only the nominal head of the Marata confederacy while his Brahmin minister, the Peshwa really ruled the territories under his control. The following passage from the Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa will give an idea of the circumstances under which the Mahrattas invaded Bengal.

“About this period, the usurper, Aliverdy Khan, established his authority over the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. From a humble situation in the service of Shujah-ud-deen Khan, Nabob of Bengal, Aliverdy had been appointed the Nabob's deputy in Behar; Surfuraz Khan, the heir apparent to the nobobship, was stationed at Dacca, and Morshed Koolee Khan, the son-in-law of Shujah-ud-deen, was the deputy governor of Orissa, having for his dewan a native of Arabia,¹ named Meer Hubeeb. On the death of Shujah-ud-deen, Surfuraz Khan was appointed Nabob. Aliverdy Khan rebelled and slew him in battle. He also attacked and drove Moorshed Koolee from Orissa. Meer Hubeeb, the dewan, a person afterwards so instrumental in Marhatta progress, also fled, but subsequently submitted, and entered the service of the successful insurgent. Aliverdy Khan was acknowledged by the emperor as Nabob of Bengal, in consequence of sending a part of the property and jewels of Surfuraz Khan to Court.—(Grant Duff, p. 460, History of the Marhattas, Vol. I.).....It appears, that immediately after his master's defeat, Meer Hubeeb had invited Bhaskar Punt, the Dewan of Rughoojee Bhonsla, who was left in charge of the Government of Behar during his master's absence in the Carnatic, to advance into the Province of Kuttack, but Bhaskar Punt, having found it necessary to

¹ Mahratta MSS. Gholam Hossein Khan, author of the Seyr-ool-Mutuaqhereen, (Seir ul Mutakherin) calls him a native of Persia, a pedlar from Iran. Meer Hubeeb was intimately known to the Mahrattas, who always designated him as an Arab.

apply for his master's permission. Before an answer could be received and the troops prepared, Aliverdy Khan had conquered the province, and Meer Hubeeb had submitted his authority. (Grant Duff, Vol. II, pp. 8 and 9.).....Since the Peshwa's arrival at Mundelah, a negotiation had been going on between him and the Emperor, through the mediation of Raja Jey Singh, supported by Nizam-Ool-Moolk. The chouth of the imperial territory was promised (1742 A. D.).....In the meantime Bhasker Punt had invaded Behar.....The Marhatta army consisted of ten or twelve thousand horse, and report had swelled their numbers to nearly four times that number. Aliverdy Khan, although only at the head of three or four thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, resolved to oppose them; but the Marhattas attacked him with great success, surrounded his army, carried off most of his baggage, and reduced him to great distress.....He made good his escape to Cutwa.....In the meantime, the Emperor, on being apprized of the irruption into Bengal, ordered Sufdar Jung, Nabob of Oude, to drive out Bhaskar Punt, and at the same time applied to Ballajee Bajee Rao, to afford his aid."

The Peshwa arrived at Mursidabad by the route of Allahabad as a friend of the Nāwab. Raghuji Bhonslā with a powerful army, was advancing as an enemy of the Nawab from eastward. A settlement was arrived at by this time between Aliverdy and the Peshwa as a result of which Raghuji Bhonslā had to beat a retreat. The Peshwa alone "overtook, attacked and defeated Raghujee's army." "Bhaskar Punt who was at the head of a party in reserve immediately retreated through Orissa." So Bāllāji Rāo returned to Malwa. (1743 A.D.) (Duff, Vol. 2, pp. 14-15). But eventually Raghuji reconciled with the Peshwa and Bāllāji resigned Bengal to Raghuji Bhonslā (Duff, Vol. 2, p. 17).

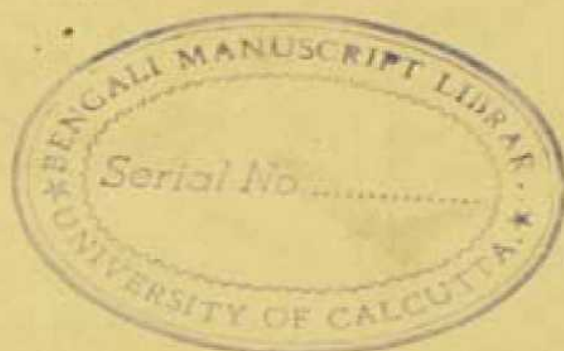
"Raghujee Bhonslay was intent on recovering his last footing in Bengal, and the Peshwa, in order to excuse himself

to the Emperor for not acting against Raghujee remained in the Deccan. * * * Bhaskar Punt, Alee Kuraweel and several officers of note, supported by twenty thousand horse, were sent into Bengal by the route of Orissa. Aliverdy Khan prepared his troops, but on pretence of coming to an agreement, opened a negotiation with Bhaskar Punt, invited him to a Ziafut, or entertainment, with twenty of his principal officers, and most treacherously murdered them (1744 A. D.). One Seerdar, named Raghujee Gaekwar, who remained in charge of the camp, was the only one out of twenty-two principal officers, who escaped this perfidious massacre: he conducted the retreat of the army to Berar by the same route they had come, but many of the Marhatta stragglers were cut off by the exasperated peasantry."¹ Raghuji Bhonslā, then invaded Orissa and demanded thirty millions of rupees. Aliverdy at first assented but afterwards sent a vaunting message to Raghuji which put an end to all negotiations.¹

This is, in short, the history of the Maratha raids in Bengal. Bhāskar Punt attacked Bengal twice, as will be seen from above,—once in 1742 A. D. and again in 1743 A. D. when he was treacherously murdered by Aliverdy Khan in 1744 A. D. But the Marathas mainly attacked Bengal thrice, *e.g.*, in 1742, 1743 and in 1744 A. D. and the trouble finally ended in 1751 A. D. The Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa deals, as mentioned before, with the attack of 1743 A. D. The poem while describing the political events of Bengal for a short period throws some important light on the social condition of the people. Interesting points relating to the manners and customs of the people who were oppressed, and of the invading Bargīs, are mentioned incidentally, and we hold the poem to be an important contribution not only to the political history of the country, but also to the history of society of the Bengali people of that period.

¹ A History of the Mahrattas, Grant Duff, Vol. 2, pp. 23-24.

SARADAMANGAL



BY

T. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

*[Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of
Letters, Vol. XXIII.]*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1933

DAYĀRĀM'S SĀRADĀ-MANGAL

EDITED BY

T. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

Introduction.

The chief excellence of this short poem consists in its containing some valuable information regarding the condition of education in Bengal during the 17th century.¹ Mr. Adams appointed by Government, two centuries later,² furnished a very valuable account regarding the condition of vernacular education in Bengal, specially in the primary stage. Systems change very slowly in this conservative country and the gap of a few centuries—say from the date of Dayārām to the period of Mr. Adams—may as well be left out of account. The manuscripts of Sāradā-mangal available to us do not seem to be much later than the time of the composition of the book. I shall try to analyse the qualities of the poem Sāradā-mangal from the background of the educational system prevalent in the villages of Bengal at that period.

The educational system then in vogue might be traced from the Hindu period; some changes and innovations were no doubt latterly introduced in process of time, but they were not such as to make any material difference. The present work shows the characteristics of the Sanskritic system and is essentially Hindu in character. There is no perceptible trace of Islamic influence in it.

¹ The date of the poem is a probable one.

² See Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838 with a brief view of its Past and Present condition, by the Rev. J. Long, Calcutta. Printed at the Home Secretariat Press, 1868.

The idea is derived from a Sanskrit maxim, found in the Panchatantra.¹ In this work we also learn that the proper age to begin education is five, and if it is delayed at all it should not go beyond seven years. Education has always been imparted in this country with a free use of cane and other varieties of punishment. The Froebel and Montessori method ordinarily known as the "Kindergarten," established some time ago in this country, was unknown but the result nevertheless was satisfactory. The community sanctioned these punishments and the list will be a long one if we mention all kinds of punishment here. In Sārādā-mangal we get only a few varieties such as :—binding and sitting on the breast of the pupil for a specified time.

We extract from the Calcutta Review, No. IV, p. 334, a description of 15 different kinds of punishment used ; these, however, are now gradually falling into disuse.

"A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground ; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck ; and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane.

"A boy is condemned to stand for half an hour or an hour on one foot ; and should he shake or quiver or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished.

"A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck.

"He is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch the ears.

"A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree.

1

"অজাতমৃতমুপ্তমৃতজাতো হতো বরং ।

মৃতস্তো বরং দুঃখায় যাবজ্জীবং ভুঙ্ধবহেং ॥"—পঞ্চতন্ত্র, কথামুখ্য ।

("Of unborn, dead and illiterate sons, the first two are preferable to the last, because they bring only momentary sorrows for the parents, whereas the fool troubles them for the whole life."—Panchatantra.)



"His hands and feet are bound with cords, to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school.

"Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen; the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day; but, however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of a flagellation in addition.

"The boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground.

"The fingers of both hands are inserted across each other with a stick between and two sticks without, drawn close together and tied.

"A boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose.

"Four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet; they then alternately swing him and throw him violently to the ground.

"Two boys are made to seize another by the ears; and, with these organs well outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the by-standers.

"A boy is constrained to pull his own ears, and, if he fail to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with a sorer chastisement.

"Two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other.

"The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of

boys that preceded him, the first being the privileged administration of them all."¹

First of all, the poem emphasises the need of education and on this point the value given to education verges on a prolific and exaggerated importance. It is said that the king preferred that his son should be killed before his eyes than remain illiterate as a permanent eyesore to him.²

One interesting point to note is that a Pathsala or school received both male and female pupils. Even a princess did not feel it beneath her dignity to attend it. The Pardah system was much in vogue and marriage of girls before puberty was not perhaps in existence as the cases of the five young princesses, daughters of the king of Vaideva, show. The young and beautiful princesses attended the Pathsala freely, met there a young man named Dhulā-Kutyā (the Prince of Sureswar used this *nom de plume*) talked with him and even went so far as to appoint him as their personal attendant. That young man, a staunch votary of the goddess of learning, condescended to hold this extremely derogatory post for pursuing his studies. Our folk-lore³ and evidences like those found in Sārādā-mangal show that sometimes boys

¹ Introduction (pp. 10-11), Brief View of the Past and Present State of Vernacular Education in Bengal by the Rev. J. Long, as contained in Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838. See also Calcutta Review, No. IV, p. 334.

See also বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস by Jogendranath Gupta, p. 333. See also Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature, Chapter on Education, by the present writer, pp. 139-140.

In these two works mention is made of punishments known as মিডকী, নাড়ু গোপাল, বৃষানুখো following Calcutta Review, No. IV and the report written above, together with some additional items of punishments such as, "কপাল চিহ্নিত দেওতা" (scratching the offender's forehead with sharp points of a paddy) and "putting the offending lad flat on the floor and then sitting on his breast."

² See Panchatantra.

³ "উপরে বসিল সারি শুক নীচ নিল"—ঠাকুরসার কলি, দক্ষিণারঞ্জন মজুমদার।

and girls read in the same school up to a certain stage and under certain circumstances.

Of course it does not show a very high standard of morality in the Hindu society of that period when we find the five princesses abducted by their supposed Guru. But the girls were more tempted by a spirit of adventure and desire of acquisition of knowledge than any love for the young man. Pursuit of knowledge attracted them to such an extent that they passed through great sacrifice and hardships for the attainment of their object.

Thus one prince was going to be killed by his own dear father and the five princesses courted infamy and hazarded everything dear to them to receive proper education as related in the story of Sāradā-mangal and this shows, no doubt, the spirit of the age and the fascination which learning had, at least for the people in the upper stratum of the Hindu society. However, in the story we learn, that the goddess Saraswati played a ruse with the princesses (Kālindi, Kiçori, Umā, Ramā and Bimalā)¹ and put her favourite prince Lakshadhar (or Dhulākutyā who was once in her bad graces) in the Guru's stead. This plan was successful enough to make the princesses the wives of the prince.

The poem Sāradā-mangal belongs to the category of Mangal-Kāvya, as its name indicates. A poem of this class is always written to extol a deity and preferably a female deity. The story develops round the central figure of a hero or heroine who is usually a votary of the particular deity for whose extolment the poem is written. The deity on his or her side becomes active in order to support and favour this votary, especially in times of need, sometimes in a way which will be questionable to the humblest of mortals. Such illustrations are more or less to be found in all Mangal-Kāvya

¹ Another name we get in the extracts of Sāradā-mangal (in the Typical Selections, Part II, C. U.). It is Bisākhā, daughter of the Pātra, or minister of the King of Vaideva.

whether written in honour of Chandi, Manasā, Dharma or any other deity. Among the Mangal-Kavyas, of course, voluminous poems have been written in honour of Dharma (male deity), Chandi and Manasā (female deities). Mangal-Kāvyas in honour of the female deities Sitalā (the goddess of small-pox) Gangā (the Ganges), Saraswati (the goddess of learning) and the like are rather minor poems not possessing the importance of the three Mangal-Kāvyas we have already stated and derive their importance from the description of the educational system that was prevalent in the days of Hindu rule and lingered till the early days of East India Company's rule with some tenacity. The goddess Saraswati was ever active to support and help her votary the prince Lakshadhar of Sureswar country. She was not favourable to him at first. But once he succeeded in winning her favour, she spared no pains to help him in times of need, true to the tradition of a Mangal-Kavya goddess. For her votary she built a hut in a wood and changed herself into an old Brahmin lady ; for her votary she even went so far as to allow herself to be bound in fetters by him. She served as a boatman and did many a mean thing to help him.

In translating and editing the work I relied on two sources (1) a manuscript preserved in the Calcutta University Library (C. U. MS. No. 3780) and (2) some printed extracts prescribed in the Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature edited by D. C. Sen and published by the Calcutta University. The first two pages of the manuscript being torn I relied on the printed matter in translating the lines given here. However, for the last portion I shall have to fall back upon the manuscript again as the printed extracts are incomplete. The readings of the above two though different in many places on the whole tally in sense. Unfortunately I could not secure any other copy anywhere though I searched for them very hard. The C. U. manuscript, I regret to say, is also not complete as only "Dhulā-kutyā's Pālā" is given there and,

moreover, I could secure very meagre information about the work and the poet. I quote a few lines from the "History of Bengali Language and Literature" by D. C. Sen (p. 368) about Dayārām and his Sārādā-mangal :

"The goddess of learning, Saraswati, was not without her votaries among the early Bengali poets. Of the numerous poems which glorify her, one by Dayārām Das displays some poetic skill. The book is divided into seventeen cantos and tells an animated story describing how by the grace of the goddess one might achieve scholarship without much study. Dayārām was an inhabitant of the village of Kiçar-chowk in Pargana Kaçigaon in the District of Midnapore."

Unfortunately the manuscript from which extracts in the Typical Selections are taken has not been found and my efforts to find it has been up till now without any success.

I hope, inspite of all the above shortcomings the little work will yet be of some interest to the readers.

The Story (of Sārādā-mangal).

There was a country called Sureswar the name of whose king was Subahu. He was a very illustrious ruler known for the integrity of his character and valour. But unfortunately he had no son. After passing through much penance for a very long period, to propitiate the god Siva, the king at last was blessed with a son. The name of this prince was Lakshadhar. In due course the prince grew up and attained that age when one is to begin education. The charge of educating him fell to the hands of Pandit Gauridas who was also the king's family-priest. As ill luck would have it, the prince could learn nothing, not even the alphabet inspite of all attempts on the part of the Pandit to initiate him into the mysteries of the Bengali alphabet. Coercion was freely employed while the prince also tried his utmost to master the alphabet but to no avail. No, not even twelve years of hard work on the part of both the teacher and the taught could

avail anything. The mischance was due to some folly committed by the prince in his previous life. When at last the sad information reached the king, he grew furious and ordered his *kotawal* (the prefect of the police) to take the young prince to the execution-ground and there to decapitate him. Better to have no son than to have an illiterate fool as son that was the king's idea. The *kotawal*, however, could not be so severe towards the prince especially as the goddess of learning, Saraswati, whispered into his ears pleading for his life. So the *kotawal* let him free and showed the blood of a jackal to the king instead as a proof of the assassination of the unfortunate prince.

The prince after this incident fled to the woods and was wandering about when he suddenly saw a hut with an old woman as its sole occupant. She was no other than the goddess of learning herself in disguise. Here the goddess accosted the prince, sympathised with his lot and adopted him as her child.

Some time after this an incident occurred which gave a new turn to his life. The prince one day found himself alone; he heedlessly threw the sacred books of mother Saraswati into the water. The mischief was afterwards detected and the prince was subjected to hard punishment. He was bound hand and foot and severely flogged. At this stage the prince narrated his story regarding his futile attempts to acquire learning. This moved mother Saraswati and she divulged her identity. She instructed him to leave the forest and visit the Vaideva country where the king's five fair daughters were undergoing instruction at the hands of a Brahmin named Janārdana. The prince was instructed to do menial services for the fair ones, remaining incognito. He was to do this for four years after which he would easily master all the subjects for study. The goddess said that he was to pass through an ordeal of this kind as in his past life he had not paid the fee due to his teacher.

The prince met the princesses duly and sought service under them. They took pity on his sad condition and appointed him as a menial on a pay of one rupee and a half per month. The charges of board and lodging were paid from the state.

He was required to do three kinds of work, *viz.* :—

- (1) Cleansing and washing the school floor.
- (2) Kindling of lights in the evening.
- (3) Supplying sand and straw (or reed pen or chalk) for the princesses during school hours.

The prince agreed to serve on these conditions.

Some time elapsed in this way and the time for worshipping the goddess of learning came. The princesses made arrangements for the function with great *eclat*. They kept Dhulā-kutyā¹ (a name given him in contempt as he supplied sand and straw) to be in charge of the offerings. This required him to remain awake the whole night. He was keeping night for watch when at midnight he saw a woman suddenly appear there and eat the offerings. Dhulā-kutyā, greatly incensed, arrested the woman taking her for a thief and made a free use of his cane on her back. The goddess at this stage revealed herself to him and granted him the boon of mastering all learning without any further effort, and seemed to be well pleased with him for his faithfully performing his duty, though she was flogged by him. She then left him with her blessings on him.

In the morning the princesses arrived in the Pathsala and one of them, Umā, distributed the *Prasād* (remnants of the food-stuff offered to the goddess) to all. Of course, what transpired in the night nobody could know, as it was kept secret by the prince.

Now, one day the five princesses sat before their Guru to read. Their ornaments glittered in the sun. But their

¹ Sands were spread on the floor which served the purpose of a board. The pupils of the school in their early stages wrote the alphabet on sands with a straw or reed.

minds were not quite as bright as their ornaments. Their Guru lost his sense of duty as teacher and stood supplicant for their love. They complied with his request. The Brahmin Janārdan, their Guru, now made himself ready to elope with them to a foreign country, where he promised he would give the princesses the benefit of his entire scholarship so that they would become as learned as he. The difficulty on the way was loss of home-life with its great prestige. What will their parents, the king and the queen, say if they left them in that way? They would be subjected to a great scandal, bringing infamy on the royal family. That was the point they were revolving in their minds during school-hours. However, at last they made up their mind to sacrifice their reputation to get the grace of the goddess of learning, promised by Janārdan. They ordered a boat to be ready at night. Here the goddess Saraswati intervened again. She resolved to make all the five princesses her favourite's (Dhulā-kutyā's) wives. To effect this, she had to take recourse to a stratagem. She ordered the heavenly architect Viswakarmā to build a boat and create a river to elude Janārdan. These were done as wanted by the goddess and the princesses left their parents' palace in the darkness of night and reached this boat. Now, in place of Janārdan, the goddess Saraswati put Dhulā-kutyā by a stratagem which was as follows. She approached the old father of Janārdan in the guise of Dhulā-kutyā and divulged to him the plan made by this Brahmin teacher and warned him of the infamy and punishment that would inevitably be the consequence of such a course. On this the rage of the old Brahmin, father of Janārdan, knew no bounds. But hiding his rage he took recourse to a ruse. When his son was taking leave of his parents on the plea of going to a distant land on a priestly call, his father advised him to perform the worship of the god Vishnu first before he started. Accordingly as Janārdan sat to perform his worship his father put the door of the room under lock and key and thereby

imprisoned him. After this, the old man from outside, flung abusive words at his son as best as he could.

The goddess Saraswati, on the other hand, promised to her favourite prince Lakshadār (*i.e.*, Dhulā-kutyā) the hands of the five princesses¹ and a restoration to his former position. She made him occupy the place of Janārdan in the boat. The duty of the helmsman was performed by Saraswati herself. The boat started, and by the grace of the goddess reached a place in six hours which would ordinarily take six months. During the night he was not recognised but when the day dawned, the girls to their astonishment looked on the face of Dhulā-kutyā with great amazement and confusion. He was not Janārdan! The princesses blamed their sad lot and ultimately resigned themselves to their sad fate.

At this stage mother Saraswati appeared again before them in the guise of an old Brahmin lady and consoled the princesses as best she could quoting illustrations from the Shāstras. Finally she blessed for the girls' happiness in their conjugal life.

The princesses now intended to live with their husband Dhulā-kutyā and asked him to build a house for them to live in.² The prince now found an opportunity to repay, by a seasoned joke, the not very happy treatment he received at the hands of the proud princesses. So, he now informed them of his inability to erect any house for them. He was a mere servant and could not be an architect of a worthy mansion for the princesses. He demanded the wages that had fallen due to him up to then. This retort embarrassed the princesses a good deal. Again the goddess Saraswati intervened in favour of her dear votary. She appeared before him and told him to take

¹ Among the five princesses is included one Bisākhā, daughter of the minister. So, it might have been only four princesses and one minister's daughter to make up the five, in C. U. extracts.

² The custom of taking a number of wives was so popular that the poet did not feel any occasion to be apologetic when he made his hero marry a good number of wives.

courage. She would forthwith supply him with a good dwelling, which she did in the following manner.

The goddess Saraswati approached the chief Sādhu or merchant of the place, the grandson of Bejoy Datta. He was a god-fearing man and had great faith in the Brahmins. The goddess in the garb of a Brahmin approached him with a story and related that the king of Baidev was in great distress. Having suffered the frowns of misfortune the king had lost his kingdom and was living in the woods for twenty years. He was now seeking help from the merchant. The goddess added, "Will you kindly grant him the free use of your northern residence for only 10 days?"

Of course the merchant was too glad to help the king in distress and gave shelter to his family (*viz.*, the princesses and prince Lakshadhar) as requested.

Now, during this period Subāhu, the father of prince Lakshadhar, never enjoyed a bit of peace in his mind. He gradually experienced the bad grace of the goddess; of luck so much so that all his wealth vanished and his kingdom soon turned into a forest devoid of any human population. The king himself fell seriously ill, grew emaciated and became devoid of any physical strength. He was reduced to such a plight that there was no other help for him than selling his "Pakshirāj horse." It came to the notice of Dhulā-kutyā (Prince Lakshadhar) who reported to Saraswati about the horse. On this the goddess approached the king and bought the horse for a rupee only, to present it to the prince. The cured by horse was suffering from old age and gout both of which were the blessing of the goddess. The prince made a pilgrimage riding on the horse. He journeyed to eighty-four holy places in a second, such was the speed of the horse which travelled though the air.

The king Subāhu who witnessed this miracle was simply charmed. He, of his own accord, wished to give up his sovereignty and bequeathed his kingdom to the favourite son

of the goddess of learning who was still there in the guise of a Brahmin lady.

The goddess indicated her favour by a smile, which acted as a healing balm restoring the kingdom to its flourishing condition. Jungles were cleared and money came to the coffers of the king in plenty. The disguised goddess then made a request to the king to give his daughters in marriage to Dhulā-kutyā. The king accepted the proposal of the goddess Saraswati in good grace, and in due course the marriage ceremony was performed with much pomp. The king and the queen were invited by mother Saraswati to favour her house with their presence. Then, other residents of palace were given due reception but the royal couple to their great annoyance and surprise were received in a stable. The goddess subjected them to a far greater indignity. A great number of curries were prepared and served to the guests in golden cups, but the royal couple were served in heavy and unseemly stone plates. The king, incensed at such a cruel treatment, did not show any courtesy or mark of recognition to his son and daughters-in-law.

The king on his return meditated on the ways of retaliation for the affront to which he had been subjected and invited the prince, his five wives and their mother (goddess Saraswati in disguise) to his palace and commanded the sentry to keep strict watch on them so that they might not flee at night. He ordered that in case of their flight, not only the culprit, *viz.*, the lady (goddess) but also the *kotowal* and the sentry would lose their heads. The goddess, aware of the foul intention of the king, requested the goddess of sleep to keep the whole palace in deep slumber. That was done and at the right moment she left the palace with her five girls. The king, in the morning, was highly enraged to learn what had passed in the night and ordered the *kotowal* to be beheaded. The *kotowal* was taken to the execution-ground when the goddess again appeared, described the whole life-story of the prince and the

princesses and ordered the king to save the life of the faithful *kotawal*. Her command was forthwith complied with, the prince and the princesses were taken back again and the worship of the goddess Saraswati was performed by the king with due pomp and ceremony. This propitiated the goddess and greatly pleased his subjects. Here ends our story.

. N.B.—D. C. Sen mentions 17 Cantos. Calcutta University MS., however, though apparently a complete one, contains 15 cantos. Only the concluding lines seem to be missing in this MS. It has got twenty pages having eight lines in each page.

DAYĀRĀM'S SĀRADĀMANGAL

Translation—

I pray to mother Saraswati, the consort of the god Viṣṇu. 'Oh holy Mother, who rides on the bird Koel,' do please

বন্দনামাতা সরস্বতী বিদ্যার যরণী ।
কবিকণ্ঠে উড়ু মাতা কোকিল-বাহিনী ॥
আপনি করিলে গীত করিতে রচন ।
অন্তেব মাগের পদে করিলু শ্রবণ ॥
হৃদয়ের দেশে হৃদয় নৃপতি ।
দানে ধ্যানে যশে তার জগতে খ্যাতি ॥
যমকে বাতনা দিয়া তিনিল সংসার ।
অমর মল্লকে লোক মরে নাঞি আর ॥
ভুবনে বিদিত রাজা ভারত ভুবনে ।
যুদ্ধে পূর্বে জিনেছিল শত্রুক অর্জুনে ॥

¹ It is very peculiar that the bird Kokila or Koel has been described by the poet Dayārām as serving the purpose of "bāhana" or carrier of the goddess of learning, Saraswati. Nowhere in the whole range of Bengali literature or elsewhere another example of it has yet been found. The bāhana of Saraswati, according to Devī-Purāṇa, is Hamsa or the grey goose. Thus :—

" ততো জ্যোতিতবান্ শব্দঃ স্বশক্তিং কীরণোদ্ভলান্ ।
হংসস্তন্দনমাক্রান্তা স্বকীর্যাদুঃখবাহিনী ॥ "—দেবীপুরাণ ।

In the Deccan side, we find, difference of opinion exists. There, a peacock is considered as the "bāhana" of Saraswati and not a goose. I remember to have seen some old statues of the goddess riding a peacock. In the Purana she is described as riding a Śuka. As we see Koel performing the function of "bāhana" of Saraswati in the Sāradamangal (a belief certainly current in the Hindu community of Mediaeval Bengal) so in the Vedic age another peculiar fact is brought home to us. It was the sacrifice of the bird Sāri (of white colour) to the goddess ("সরস্বতী শারিঃ স্তোতা পুরুষবাক্, সরস্বতী স্তবঃস্তোতাঃ পুরুষবাক্ ।" —ঐতিহ্যসংহিতা, ৫।৫।১২) Saraswati.

However, as Saraswati is the presiding deity of music, Kokila whose voice is the sweetest among birds is naturally associated with her. Though the goddess herself being of white complexion favoured white birds yet another form of her is of dark complexion (cf. নীলসরস্বতী). The bird Koel is of the same colour as that of Nila-Saraswati (literally Blue-Saraswati). In the Tantras two Saraswatis are mentioned, one is Nila-Saraswati and another is Pārijāta-Saraswati, besides the female deity Mātrikā-Devī who was also considered as Bāg-Devī or Saraswati. In Devī-Bhāgavata we find Saraswati has Śuka bird in her hand together with Vinā and books. Thus :—

"বহিঃস্তম্ভাং স্তবধানং বীণাপুস্তকধারিণী ।" —দেবী ভাগবত, ৯ ম স্কন্ধ, ৪র্থ অধ্যায়, ৪৩তম শ্লোক ।

condescend to manifest thyself in my throat (inspiring my voice). You (the goddess Saraswatī) yourself commanded me to compose this song and so I resign myself to your feet.

Once upon a time there was a king called Subahu who ruled the country named Sureswar. The king had a world-wide reputation for charity and other virtues. He chastised Yama, the lord of Death, and freed this world from his jaws. So in that country of immortals people ceased dying. The king became well-known throughout India. He is said to have once conquered even Kṛṣṇa and Arjun.

The king (Subahu) worshipped the god Śiva for a hundred years, observing fast all the time. This meritorious deed was rewarded by Śiva who granted him the boon of a son. The king called his son Lakṣadhar (lit. Possessor of a Lakh) as the sage Garga gave the name of Gobinda (lit. Possessor of cows) to Kṛṣṇa. After the birth of the prince the ceremony of the sixth day was performed with much pomp by worshipping the goddess Ṣaṣṭhī. In due course, some time after the "rice-eating" ceremony was also performed. Eight ornaments¹ were given to the prince for his person, made of costly stones and diamonds with lockets. He wore besides tāḍ and bangles on his arms. And thus in a princely style and befitting his status, the child grew up. In his boyhood the prince was allowed to play with other boys. When he was only five he was so restless that he never would sit quietly in the royal court for a few minutes. When his age was seven he still neglected his studies for which the king was so annoyed with him that he wished his death rather than he should remain an illiterate fellow all his

¹ "Aṣṭa-alankār" is a familiar expression in old Bengali literature, indicating eight chief ornaments. They consisted of kundal, tāḍ, bāju, bālā, kinkini, nupur, beṣar and hār.

life. Pandit Gauridas was priest of the royal court, who advised the king on this matter (education of the prince). According to him, if a male child does not receive education, he is just like a Mālātī flower which spends its fragrance in the wilderness coming to no good of the world. If the child does not get education in proper time, his youth, indeed the whole of his life, is thus spent and he is bound to come to grief later on. Oh King, why do you neglect the education of your son? His proper time to begin education is boyhood which is being wasted for nothing. When do you propose

শতক বৎসর শিব পুজিল নিরাহারে ।
সেই পুণ্যে এক পুত্র হইল রাজারে ।
লক্ষ্যধর নাম হইল নৃপতি আপনি ।
গোবিন্দের নাম খুইল যেন গর্গমুনি ॥
যজ্ঞী পূজা কৈল তার বোড়শোপচারে ।
অন্নপ্রাশন হৈল কখনো দিনান্তরে ।
অষ্ট আভরণ কত দিল তার গায় ।
পদক প্রবাল মণি হীরা সমুদায় ॥
বাড়িল রাজার বেটা ভূজে তাড় বাল্য ।
হাল্য কালে বালক সঙ্গে করে খেলা ॥
পঞ্চ বৎসরের শিশু ছেলো-বুদ্ধি ধরে ।
কতু নাঞ্চি বৈদ্যে রাজ-সভার ভিতরে ॥
সপ্তবৎসরে শিশু পড়িবার বেলা ।
মরিয়া বাড়িক পুত্র পড়িতে করে হেলা ॥
গৌরীদাস পণ্ডিত রাজার পুরোহিত ।
নৃপতিকে কহে গিয়া বিজ্ঞার বিহিত ॥
পুত্র হইয়া যদি বিদ্যা নাহি পড়ে ।
বনের মালতী যেন অকারণে মরে ॥
আগে নাহি পড়ে পাঠ পাছু ভণিরা বিকল ।
জীবন যৌবন তার সকলি নিফল ॥
পুত্রকে পড়াইতে রাজা কেন করে হেলা ।
শিশুকাল গেল পাঠ পড়িবার বেলা ॥
রাজনীতি তাহারে শিখাবে আর কবে ।
মূর্খের অনেক ঘোষ আপনি পাইবে ॥
ভনিয়া দ্বিজের বাক্য হুবাহ নৃপতি ।
পুণ্ডিতকণে জলেন দেবী সরস্বতী ॥

to teach him the principles of Politics? Will it not be too late hereafter (for there is a season for everything)? He will gradually acquire those vices, natural to an illiterate man.

King Subahu listened to the advice of the Brahman and worshipped the goddess Saraswati on an auspicious day. Moog (a kind of peas), banana, paniphal, atap rice, jarful of-sugar and other offerings, in observance of 16 necessary rituals, were placed before the goddess. The function was attended with the play of Mridanga, Mandirā and other musical instrument. The king gave to the priest (over and above his fee) a piece of silk cloth and “Pāmari” and then put his son under his charge (the priest being also the Pandit). He was required to educate the prince in all the four Śāstras (here meaning languages) of Nāgri, Persian, Bengali and Oriyā. The prince was to be taught the lexicon of Amar and other writers(?).

Gauridas then took the prince with him and initiated him into the mysteries of the Bengali alphabet (lit. he first wrote

মুগ রত্না পানীফল যোড়শোপচারে ।
 আতপ রশাল চিনি বিশাশয়^১ ভারে ॥
 নানামত নৈবেদ্য সকল সমুদার ।
 মুদঙ্গ মন্দিরা বাগে মন্দ মন্দ বার ॥
 পাটবস্ত্র পামরি দিলেন পুরোহিতে ।
 পুস্তকে সঁপিরা দিল পণ্ডিতের হাতে ॥
 চারিশাস্ত্র সমুদার পড়াবে সকল ।
 নাগরী কারদী কিবা বাঙ্গালা উৎকল ।
 অমুর ছমুর শব্দ শিখাবে কুড়রে ।
 এহার অধিক যদি শিখাইতে পারে ॥
 এত বলি গৌরীদাস লইয়া কুড়রে ।
 ক খ ফলা লেখিয়া ঝড়ি নিল করে ॥
 পড়রে রাজার বেটা বেত দিল হাতে ।
 কান্দিতে লাগিল শিশু গুরুর সাক্ষাতে ॥
 করে ধর্যা কর্যা দেই বিছাইয়া ধূলা ।
 একটি অক্ষর লেখ্যা দিলেন ক-ফলা ॥

অমুর ছমুর শব্দ—?

১ বিশ—ওজন-বিশেষ ।

the Bengali alphabet “Ka” and “Kha”) and then put a piece of chalk or “Khaḍi” into the hand of his pupil to write with. The teacher with a cane in hand then asked him to read, but the pupil began to weep in presence of his teacher. He (the teacher) spread some dust on the floor, wrote the letter “Ka” (the first Bengali letter) on it and took the hand of his pupil in his own and helped him to draw the lines again and again round those he had written himself. In spite of his attempt he could not teach the prince to write even this first letter of Bengali and the teacher being angry gave him a sound beating. Not only that, sometimes he bound the boy with rope and at others he sat on the boy’s chest putting his whole weight on his slender body. In previous birth the prince had not paid his teacher’s fees on finishing his studies.

লিখিতে না পারে তত্ব শিখাইতে না পারে ।
 মারিয়া বেতের বাড়িএ বৈয়া করে ।
 কতু কতু বেয়া রাখে বুক বস্ত্রে রয় ।
 উচিত করয়ে শাস্তি যে দিন যে হয় ।
 পূর্বেতে পড়িয়া পাঠ না দিল দক্ষিণা ।
 অতএব করিল মাতা এত বিড়ম্বনা ।
 দ্বাদশ বৎসর তার গেল এইরূপে ।
 গুরু বলে কি বোল বলিবো আমি ভূপে ।
 দ্বাদশ বৎসর পড়াইল বিকমনি ।
 তত্ব না করিল দয়া কোকিল-বাহিনী ॥ ১

দ্বিধ মুখে বৃন্দা পুত্রের এত কথা ।	} N.B.—These two lines are found here in C.U. MS. No. 3780, in place of the two lines written within brackets below.
রাজা বলে কোটাল কাটায়া দান মাথা ॥	
কেহ বলে কিছু নয় কপালের কথা ।	} N.B.—These two lines are not found in C. U. MS. No. 3780.
রাজা বলে মশানে কাটায়া আন মাথা ॥	

Additional Notes :—¹ দ্বিধ (C. U. MS. No. 3780).

* After the line commencing with গুরু বলে there were two more lines in C. U. MS. No. 3780; but unfortunately they are so torn and defaced that they cannot be quoted here.

১ নৃশংসি C. U. MS. No. 3780.

Here after দ্বিধমনি there were two additional lines in C. U. MS. No. 3780 but the place being torn is reduced to half and so unintelligible.

* কোকিল-বাহিনী—সরস্বতী। See first page of the translation.

This omission was punished in his present life by Mother Saraswati in the aforesaid manner. Thus passed twelve years and all attempts on the part of the Guru to teach the prince proved futile. He now began seriously to think as to what explanation he would give to the king. Long twelve years the Brāhman attempted to teach the prince, yet the goddess Saraswati did not show any sign of favour.

The matter being reported at last to the Durbar, diverse people passed various remarks. Some said that it was no fault of the prince but this was due to his ill luck. The king was not only mortified but lost his temper and in a hasty moment passed the order for his execution, saying (curtly) "I have no need of an illiterate son." So, the Kotwal (Prefect of Police) took the prince to the execution-ground and asked him to sit, with his face towards the east in order to dispatch him. The goddess Saraswati came to learn all that had happened to her votary. He, who hears this song and worships Sārādā (the goddess Saraswati), gets the privilege of sitting in the society of the learned. He, who hears this song, gets a male child if he has none, and becomes master of learning if he is not so.

মুখ পূরে আর মোর নাহি প্রয়োজন ।
কোতোয়াল মশানে লৈয়া করিল গমন ॥
পূর্বদুখে কুণ্ডরে কাটে নিশাপতি ।
দেবকের মরণ জানেন সরস্বতী ॥
এই গীত যেবা শুনে সারদাকে পূজে ।
সেই লোক হুখে বৈসে পণ্ডিত-সমাজে ॥
অপুত্রের পুত্র ঘটে নির্ধনের ধন ।
অবিদ্যার বিদ্যা ঘটে শুনে যেই জন ।
দয়ারণ দাসকে কম দেবী সরস্বতী ।
হুঃখ দূর কর মাগো কুজান কুনতি ।
কোতোয়াল বলে শুন রাজার কুণ্ডর ।
মরণ সাধ্যাছ তুমি মশান ভিতর ।
রাজা বলে মশানে কাটিয়া আন মাথা ।
কোন কার্যে পুজিলাম জগতের মাতা ॥

Oh goddess Saraswati, poor Dayārām Das (the poet) is addicted to wrong ways, being vicious and wicked, pray forgive him and give him your grace. .

The Kotowal said, "Oh prince, you have yourself courted your death in this execution-ground. The king said, 'to what use have I worshipped the goddess of this Universe (meaning the goddess Saraswati) (if my son remains illiterate) so, cut his (my son's) head and bring it to me.' This shows that the consort of the god Viṣṇu (the goddess Saraswati) is ungracious toward you." The mother (Saraswati) then herself whispered to the ears of the Kotowal as follows :—

"Hear me, Oh Kotowal, this prince is yet a child by nature. His life can be saved if he is allowed to flee. I shall cut the head of a jackal and present that to the king (in place of the prince's head) to satisfy him. My son, you may listen to this advice of mine and act up to it."

অতএব বঞ্চিত তোরে বিকুর ঘরনী ।

কোতোয়ালের কর্ণে মাতা কহিলেন আপনি ।

শিশু মতি শুন ওরে রাজার নন্দন ।

পালাইয়া যায় যদি পাইবে জীবন ॥

} Omitted in C. U. MS. No. 3780.

Alternative reading after "মশান ভিতর" (in C. U. MS. No. 3780).

কোন কালে না পুজিলে কোকিলবাহিনী ।

অতএব বঞ্চিত তোরে বিকুর ঘরনী ॥

পালাইয়া জাহ তুমি পাবে প্রাণদান ।

তুপতিকে দিবো লহা কাটিয়া খুয়াল ॥

কুঁড় বোলেন তবে কথা নাহি আর ।

ধর্মপিতা তুমি মোর নিরশার ॥

(Unintelligible, torn.)

নৃপতিরে দিব আমি কাটিয়া শিয়াল ।

এই কথা বলি তোরে শুনরে ছাওয়াল ॥

} Omitted in C. U. MS. No. 3780.

কুঁড় বলে তবে কথা নাহি আর ।

ধর্মপিতা তুমি লহ জীবনের তার ।

বনবাসে যাই যদি : বাচায় বিধাতা ।

হৃদয় তোমার শুণ শুন ধর্মপিতা ।

(As this advice was communicated to the prince) he addressed the Kotowal, "Nothing can be better than this suggestion. You may accept the charge of my life as I take you now as my foster-father. If my life is saved by the device, I shall be under a deep debt of gratitude to you. I am going away to some wild country in exile but I shall requite my debt to you on some day in future." The child took farewell of the Kotowal and followed the forest-path. The saving of his life was to him just like rebirth from his mother's womb. He felt no thirst, no hunger and it was occasionally that he took some wild-fruits. Sometimes he took rest in mountain-caves but he was never hurt by the wild bears (who roamed there).

The misery of her votary (appealed to the heart of the goddess Saraswati) and she took up the appearance of an old Brāhman woman, made a hut in the forest and remained there.

বিদায় হইয়া শিশু যায় বনপথে ।
 পুনর্জন্ম হৈল যেন মাতের গর্ভেতে ॥
 ক্ষুধা তৃষ্ণা নাঞি কভু মনে কদাচন ।
 কভু বন-ফল পথে করয়ে ভক্ষণ ॥
 কখন কখন থাকে পর্বতের কোণে ।
 বনের ভজুক ছুঁঞে নাঞি তাকে ॥^১
 সেবকের ছুঃখ বেশি দেবী সরস্বতী ।
 বনেতে বাসিয়া কুড়িয়া রহিলেন^২ তখি ॥
 বৃদ্ধ ব্রাহ্মণীর বেশে বসিয়া কুড়ায় ।
 সেই পথে কুড়র কাঙ্গালি হুয়া^৩ যায় ॥
 ব্রাহ্মণী দেখিয়া শিশু নোয়াইল মাথা ।
 আশীর্ব্বাদ কৈল তারে বিদুর বনিতা ॥
 কি নাম তোমার কহ কোন দেশে ঘর ।
 কি কারণে বন-বাস করহে কুড়র ॥^৪

^১ বনের শাকল্য শিশু ছুঁএ না তাকে ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^২ C. U. MS. No. 3780 has বসিলেন ।

Lit. the god Vidhi writes the fate of every one on his forehead on the sixth night after one is born.

^৩ বেশে—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^৪ কি কারণে কির বাছা অরণ্য ভিতর ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

In this guise she was sitting in her hut, one day, when the prince was passing by dressed in rags. Taking her to be a Brāhman woman, the boy bowed his head to her who (Saraswati—Viṣṇu's wife) in return blessed him. The old Brāhman lady (Saraswati) enquired, "What is your name, Oh boy, and where do you live? May I know the reason of your sojourn in the woods?" The boy replied, "My luck, Oh Mother, is very bad, so you see the mark of cane and ropes on my body. I wasted long twelve years of my boyhood in futile attempt to acquire learning, yet the goddess Saraswati did not show me any favour. Calling me an illiterate fool my parents ordered the Kotowal to kill me, who, however, (took pity on me) saved my life acting as my god-father. Will you enquire of me further? My one reply to you is 'fate is at the root of everything.'" The Brāhman woman then said, "Look to my sad plight, my darling. I took curd and rice on the marriage night, a course to which I was led by my evil fate. It is prohibited to eat curd and rice on the night of one's marriage and as a result my husband has forsaken me and left me in this wood. Now, I beg in the town and live a wretched life. However, in a lucky moment I meet you, darling, here, and from to-day you are my foster-son. Through your help, I shall now earn our living by selling wood in the market."

মার্যাছে বেতের বাড়ি বন্ধনের চিহ্ন ।^১
কুত্তর বোলেন মাতা কর্তৃক বড় হীন ।
শিশুকাল গেল পাঠ পড়িবার তরে ।
ষাদশ বৎসর দয়া না হইল মোরে ॥
মুখ্য বলে মা বাপ কাটিতে দিল মাথা ।^২
কোতোয়াল কৈল রক্ষা হৈয়া ধর্মপিতা ॥
কেবল কপাল মূল কি জিজ্ঞাসি আর ।
ব্রাহ্মণী বলেন বাছা এই দশা আমার ॥
[বক্তারাত্রে দধি অন্ন করিলু* ভক্ষণ ।
সেই বাক্য বার্ষ নহে বিধির লিখন ॥^৩

১ গারে কেন বেত বাড়ি বন্ধনের চিহ্ন ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

২ মুখ্য বলা মা বাপ কাটিতে বলে মাথা ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৩ সেই কল্পদোষে, কবা বিধির লিখন—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

* করিলু—করিলাম ।

From that time the child remained in the house of Sārādā (goddess Saraswati), but owing to 'māyā' (divine illusion) he could not recognise the mother. The boy cut wood in the forest and brought them to Saraswati, who sold them in the market. In this way some days passed. One day the old woman went to the market (as usual), but the packet containing the Gītā and other holy scriptures were unheedingly left behind.

At that time (finding himself alone) the prince trembled in rage for his illiteracy and threw the books (lit. সহস্রপুরাণ?) into the sea (by way of hate and retaliation). The boy contemplated that these books were the cause of his life-long misery and felt greatly relieved by throwing them in a place beyond all chance of recovery. The gods (in heaven) witnessed this and were filled with surprise. They thought over the matter a little and sent down Nārada (the messenger-god) to the goddess Bhārati (Saraswati). The sage took the goddess to task as in the valuable packet the names of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa were the most precious in the holy books. These were for ever lost in the sea. The goddess herself got down into the very depth of the sea and recovered the scripture. The god Kṛṣṇa commanded his follower Agni (the god of fire) to preserve the divine books. Dayārām, who lives in Kāśījoḍ-kiśorchawk village, thus composes the story of Sārādā.

বিভারাত্রে নিষেধ নারীকে অন্ন খাইতে }
 শুভকণে দেখা বাড়া হৈল তোর সাধে ॥ }
 সেই পাপেও প্রভু ঘোর দিল বনবাস ।
 নগরেও মাগিয়া ভিক্ষা বাচি বার মান ॥
 আজি হৈতে ধর্মপুত্র আমার মনন ।
 বাজারে বেচিয়া কাঠ করিব পালন ॥^১

^১ Omitted in C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^২ পাপে—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^৩ বাজারে—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^৪ করিবো ভোজন—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

After recovering the manuscript from water, the consort of the god Viṣṇu (Saraswati) became extremely angry. She (the goddess Kokilbāhini) bound the lad Lakṣadhar and gave him a sound thrashing. The lad then said, "Oh god-mother what offence have I committed that you beat and admonish me thus. The whole world knows that when a mother beats her son even the god of death (god Yama) cannot prevent the course. (By way of explanation I should say that) when I went to study I (often) got beating, the mark of cane you may still see in my back. Yet fate denied me learning. What could be more inhuman than that even my father ordered my execution for my illiteracy. It is through sheer luck and merit of past life that the Kotowal acted as my foster-father and saved my life. The goddess of Learning is unfavourable, so how can I resist all these miseries of forest-life. So, the

সেই হৈতে আছে শিশু সারদার ঘরে ।
 মাঘের মোহিত নাকে চিনিতে না পারে ॥^১
 কাঠ ভাঙ্গ্যা আনে বনে বেচেন সরস্বতী ।
 এই মতে কতদিন করিল বসতি ॥
 আর এক দিন বুড়ি বাজারেতে গেল ।
 ভারতীর ভাগবত খুন্সী* পড়্যা ছিল ॥^২
 কুণ্ডর বেধিয়া বড় কোপে কম্পবান ।
 সমুদ্রে ফেলিয়া দিল সহস্র পুরাণ ॥^৩
 বার তরে বনবাসী জনমের মত ।
 জলেতে ফেলিয়া শিশু জলে উঠে কত ॥
 দেবগণ দেখি বড় হৈল চমৎকার ।
 নারদে পাঠায়া দিল করিয়া বিচার ॥
 রাখাকুক্ষ দুটি নান মষ্ট হৈল জলে ।
 নারদ ভৎসনা করি ভারতীরে বলে ।
 তুমিরা মুনির কথা কোকিল-বাহিনী ।
 সমুদ্রে ডুবিয়া আনে শাস্ত্র পুথিখানি ॥

১ মাঘের সহিত নাকে চিনিতে না পারে ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

২ ভারতীর পুথিখড়ি ভাগবত ছিল ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৩ সমুদ্রে ফেলিয়া দিল শাস্ত্র জে পুরাণ ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

* খুন্সী—হস্তলিখিত পুস্তকের আদার ।

almanac, the chalk, the book-packet with all its contents and the cursed cane are positively an eye-sore to me and fain would I throw them into water (lit. lake) (to give vent to my hate) at the first opportunity. Lady, you are my foster-mother, you will be very sorry if I die, being ill-treated by you in this way for no real fault of mine."

On hearing the boy, the mother Sārādā became again favourable to him and revealed herself to him. "Oh child," said the goddess, "in your previous life you completed your study with the help of a teacher but did not pay his fee and thus you are reaping its consequence in the present life. There is a country called Baideva whose king is happy, by the grace of Kṛiṣṇa to whom he is devoted. He has got five daughters. These princesses—Kālindi, Kiśori, Umā and the other two read with Janārdana, their teacher. Go and serve them as a menial for four years. Thus all your sins will be expiated and you will acquire proficiency in all the Śāstras. Go and serve the

দেবতার পুণ্ড্রিখানি পালিতে কি করে ।^১

তসার ভজেন কৃষ্ণ অগ্নির মন্দিরে ॥

সারদা-চরিত্র-কথা রচাে দয়ারাম ।

বসবাস কাশ্মীরে কিশোরচক গ্রাম ॥

পানিতে তুলিয়া শান্ত পুণ্ড্রী পুণ্ড্রি মহামত্ৰ^২

বিরস বিষ্ণুর ঘরনী ।^৩

নারায়ণী লক্ষ্মী ধরে গ্রহায়েন বন্দী করে^৪

করিলেন কোকিল-বাহিনী ॥^৫

কুড়র বলেন তথা কেনে মার ধর্ম-মাতা

কোন দোষে কর তিরস্কার ।

জননী বাহারে মারে যম তারে কিবা করে^৬

জানে এহা অগৎ-সংসার ॥

১ দেবতার পুণ্ড্রিখানি বারিতে কি করে ।

২ পুণ্ড্রি পুণ্ড্রি মৌলিপত্র—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৩ বিরসের বিষ্ণুর ঘরনী—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৪ নিবন্ধেতে শান্তি করে—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৫ কোষে মাতা কাপেনে ধমনি ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৬ তারে কে রাখিতে পারে ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

five girls as I bid you, said mother Kokilbāhini. On learning the above from the mother, the prince left the place and reached the land of Baideva. Dayārām Das, son of Prasād, thus composes and sings the name of mother Sārādā.

The child reached the country of Baideva, as directed by the goddess Sārādā, and met the princesses who were passing that way. One of the beautiful princesses asked the prince,

পড়িতে গেলান পাঠ	পীঠে দেখ চিহ্ন ছাট
ততু বিদ্যা না হইল কপালে ।	
কোতোয়াল কাটিতে মাথা	কহিলেন মোর পিতা
কত দুঃখ কব পৰতলে ।	
কি কব দৈবের কথা	কোতোয়াল পুণ্যের পিতা
শ্রাণ-দান সেই দিল মোরে ।	
পাজি খড়ি থুলা পুথি	পাপিষ্ঠ বেতের বাড়ি
পাইলে ফেলাই সরোবরে ।	
বনবাসে দুঃখ	বিজ্ঞা মোর বৈদুখ
বনবাস বিজ্ঞার কারণ	
তুমি মোর ধর্ম-মাতা	মরিলে পাইবে ব্যথা
বিনা দোষে করহ তাড়ন ।	
তনিকো শিশুর কথা	সদর সারথী মাতা
সকলি হিলেন পরিচয় ।	
পূর্বের পাঠ পড়্যাছিলে	গুরুরে না দক্ষিণা দিলে
অতএব এই দশা হয় ।	
বৈদেব দেশের রাজা	হুখে কর কৃক পূজা
তাহার কুন্তরী পঞ্চজন ।	
কালিন্দী কিশোরী উমা	পাঠ পড়ে পঞ্চজন
বিদ্যাধান করে জনার্দন ॥ ১	

১ পাজি পুথি বালি খড়ি—

২ বনবাস বিদ্যার কারণে ।

তুমি মোর ধর্মমাতা মরিলে পাইবে ব্যথা

মিনি দোষে করিলে তর্জনে ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

(In place of বনবাসে দুঃখ করহ তাড়ন ।)

৩ পূর্বের পুস্তক পড়্যাছিলে, গুরু না দক্ষিণা পালে—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৪ বৈদেব দেশের রাজা সদা করে শিবপূজা—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

৫ বিদ্যাধান করেন ব্রাহ্মণ ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

“What is your name and where is your country?” The prince said in reply, “If there be any person who would appreciate real merit and engage me as a servant for mere food and lodging I can surely give a good account of myself by serving my master faithfully. I shall do any service as I shall be directed to do.” The five princesses became highly amused at this (queer) answer and replied thus sympathetically, “You are now in a very pitiable condition and your voice is very weak. We shall give you quite enough food and drinking water to save you from collapsing. Besides you will get five sikās (*i.e.*, a rupee and a quarter) and clothing per month. Oh young man, you will have to do three kinds of work for us. You have to cleanse our school-room with a broom as well as spread disinfectant liquid over the area. Besides you will have to kindle the evening light for worship and finally you will supply us with dust (or sand) and a piece of straw (writing materials) during the time of our study.” The lad agreed to

হত্যা তার আজাকারী থাকিবে বৎসর চারি
কহিলেন কোকিল বাহিনী ।
সর্বপাপ বিনাশিবে সর্ব লাঞ্চে^১ বিজ্ঞা পাবে
সেব গিরা পক্ষ সীমন্তিনী ॥
শুনিয়ে মায়ের কথা কুণ্ডর বিদায় তথা
বৈদেব-মল্লকে আগমন ।
দয়্যারাম দাস গান সারদা মাতার নাম
বিরচিত এসাদ-নন্দন ॥^২
সারদা ম'য়ের কথা শুনিতা কুণ্ডর ।
বৈদেব দেশের শিশু চলে অতঃপর ॥
কথোক্ষণে গেলা তথা রাজার কুমারী ।
কুণ্ডরে জিজ্ঞাসে কিছু ভূবন-হুমারী ॥^৩
কি নাম তোমার কহ কোন দেশে ঘর ।
কহিতে লাগিল কিছু বৈদেশের কুণ্ডর ॥^৪

^১ বড়শাঞ্চে—C. U. MS. No 3780.

^২ দয়্যারাম দাসে গান দেবী হইল অতুখ্যাণ
অন্তে দিয়া অভয় চরণ ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^৩ কুণ্ডরে জিজ্ঞাসে তারা পরিহাস করি ॥—C. U. MS. No 3780.

^৪ কুণ্ডর জিজ্ঞাসা তথ্য বলিছে কুণ্ডর ॥—C. U. MS. No 3780.

obey as directed with folded palms and from that moment he became a servant of the princesses. *As the boy performs the three functions, *viz.*, (1) cleansing the floor with broom and liquid, (2) kindling of evening light and (3) supplying the dust and straw, all people nicknamed him as Dhulā-kutyā.

In this way the prince passed some days when the day for the worship of the goddess Sārādā came by. In the auspicious “tithi” of the Sree-Panchami, worship of the goddess is held by the good people with much pomp, once a year. The princesses also worshipped the goddess of learning (with much ceremony). There were the sounds of conch-shell, bell, Mridanga, Muhuri and other musical instruments and there were Ātap rice, jarfuls of sugar in “Visa” quantity, sweet vegetable roots and various other offerings inclusive of ghee, honey, resin (a kind of incense), light and sweet-scented sandal-paste. With sixteen kinds of offerings, mentioned in the scriptures (and with much ceremony) a brāhman (a priest)

এমন ভাগ্যবান কেহ ভুবনেতে থাকে ।
উদরের অন্নজল দিয়া মোরে রাখে ॥ ১
যে কর্তব্য করিতে বলে এই কর্তব্য করি ।
ত্রিসন্ধ্যা থাকিব আমি তার আজ্ঞাকারী ।
তুনিয়া কৌতুক বড় কত্যা পকজন ॥ ২
কুমারে কহেন তারা করিয়া বতন ।
বড়ই কাজাল তুমি কথার ছুঁইল ।
উদর পুরিয়া মোরা দিব অন্নজল ।
মাস মাহিনা পঞ্চসিকা পরিয় অন্মর ।
আমাদের তিন কর্তব্য করিবে কুণ্ডর ।
ছড়া কাটি সন্ধ্যা দিবে এই ছত্র মালা ।
ধূলা কুট্যা দিবে পাঠ পড়িবার বেলা ॥
যে আজ্ঞা বলিয়া শিশু যুড়ি ছই পানী ।
সেই হৈতে চাকর রাখিল শীমন্তিনী ॥
ছড়াকাটি সন্ধ্যা দেই ধূলা কুট্যা রাখে ।
ধূলা কুট্যা বল্যা তায়ে সর্বলোকে ডাকে ॥

মাসে পাচসিকা কড়ি পাবে তার পর ।—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

১ উদরেতে অন্ন দিয়া পুষএ আমাকে ॥—C. U. MS. No 3780.

২ করন তার কথা না করি হেলন । তুনিয়া কৌতুক বড় কত্যা পকজন ॥—C. U. MS. No 3780.

worshipped the divine mother on behalf of the princesses. The school (lit. Pāthsālā) contained a jar full of water and flower. Dhulā-kutyā kept guard over the offerings keeping up the night. The princesses commanded as follows—“For any loss or damage of the various items of offering for worshipping the goddess Saraswati and which we are keeping under your care—you should be responsible. If any of these be lost or missing your head will be cut off. Who does not know that the head of Mahirāvana (the Rākṣasa or Demon king of Pātāla or the netherworld) was cut off by the son of Pabana (Hanumān of the Rāmāyana epic story) ?

(To be continued.)

এই মতে কথোদিন আছে কুন্তর ।
সারদার পূজা হৈল কথো দিনান্তর ।
ভক্ত তিথি ত্রিপকমী সম্বৎসরের পরে ।
সামুলোক পুঙ্ক মাকে বোড়শোপচারে ।
পুজিল রাজার কত্তা পরম হুন্দরী ।
শাখা বটী বারে কত মুদ্রা মুহুরি ॥
আতপততুল চিনি বিশালর ভার ।
আতপ রসালাকন্দ যত উপহার ॥^১
দুত মধু ধূপ দীপ অগন্ধী চন্দন ।^২
বোড়শোপচারে মাকে পুজিল ব্রাহ্মণ ।
পাঠ-শালে পূর্ণিত হুইল পুষ্প-স্ফারা ।
জাগরণে ধূলা কুটী জেগে থাকে পাঠা ॥
নৈবেদ্য পূজার বিধি নানা ত্রব্য-জাতে ।
নষ্ট হৈলে তোর মাথা কাটিব করাতে ।
প্রাচীন উপাখ্যান কেবা নাহি জানে ।
মহীরাবনের মাথা কাটে পবন-মন্দনে ॥
শোল উপচারে পূজা করেন ব্রাহ্মণে ॥
পাঠশালা জাগি ধূলাকুটা থাক তুমি ।
রহিল সকল কথা যত বাই আমি ॥
নৈবেদ্য পূজার বিধি নানা দৈব্য জাতে ।
নষ্ট হৈলে কালি মাথা কাটিবে প্রভাতে ॥
অনিরূপ উপাখ্যান কেবা নাই জানে ।
মহীরাবনের মত কাটিবে মশানে ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

^১ করিল পূজার বিধি নানা উপচারে ॥—C. U. MS. No. 3780.

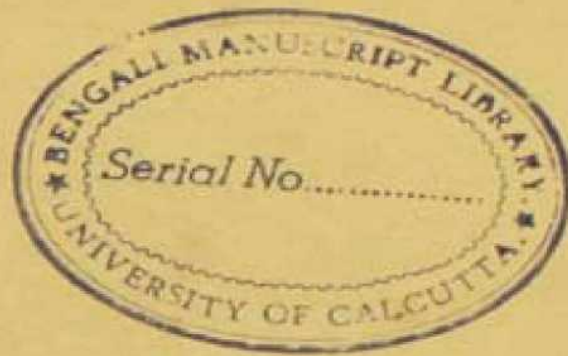
^২ দুত মধু পকাদুত অগন্ধী চন্দন ।



PRINTED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.



THE NOBILITY OF BENGAL IN OLD BENGALI LITERATURE



BY

TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

*(Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters,
Vol. XXII)*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1932

THE NOBILITY OF BENGAL IN OLD BENGALI LITERATURE.

By

TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

Ramtanu Lahiri Research Assistant, Calcutta University.

In this article I have confined myself to finding out the various references, in old Bengali literature to the Hindu and Moslem Rajas and Chiefs of the period between the 14th and the 18th centuries.

Vidyapati—(14th—15th century) :

(1) Says the Poet Vidyāpati—It is known to Nasira Shah, who is pierced with the arrows of Cupid. Let the Lord of the five Gauḍas live for ever.¹

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 28.

(2) How long may the theft, which is already found out, be kept a secret? Sultan Gyasuddin knows of it. Let him live long.²

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 163.

¹ নসীর সাহ ভানে,
মুখে হানল নয়ন বানে,
চিরজীব রহ পচগোড়েশ্বর কবি বিজ্ঞাপতি ভানে ।
—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ২৮ পৃঃ ।

² বেকতেও চোরি গুপ্ত কর কতিখন
বিজ্ঞাপতি কবি ভান ।
মহলম জুগপতি চিরেজিব জীবথু
গ্যাসদেব সুরতান ॥
—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ১৬৩ পৃঃ ।

(3) Let Malik Baharuddin understand it.¹

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 268.

(4) Says the new 'Kavi-Sakhar' (*lit.* Chief of Poets) Vidyāpati—Where can there be another rival where *Hussain Shah* himself stands as the lover of amorous girls like a bée among the 'Mālatī' flowers.²

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 297.

(5) Vidyāpati is describing this before *Kaṃsanārāyan* * and Saramā Devī.³

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 321.

(6) Let the Lord Alam Shah forget himself in his attention to his lover like a bee on a lotus.⁴

—Vidyāpati, N. Gupta's Ed., p. 529.

¹ মলিক বহার দিন বুঝ ঐ ভাব ।

—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ২৬৮ পৃঃ ।

² ভনই বিজ্ঞাপতি নবকবিশেখর

পুছবী দোসর কহাঁ ।

সাহ হসেন ভূঙ্গ সম নাগর

মালতি সৈনিক জঁহা ॥

—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ২৯৭ পৃঃ ।

³ বিজ্ঞাপতি ভন কংস নারায়ণ

সোরমা দেবী সমাজ ।

—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ৩২১ পৃঃ ।

⁴ আলম সাহ ভাবিনি ভজি রহ

কমলিনি ভমর ভুললা ॥

—বিজ্ঞাপতি (নগেন গুপ্ত), ৫২৯ পৃঃ ।

* Kaṃsanarayan of Tahirpur (Dinajpur Dist.) ?

biography of Lord Kṛṣṇa.¹ Jagadānanda always worships the god Hari and the poet Sasthībar describes the incidents of Hari's life to all.

—the Mahabharata by Sanjaya, Bengal Govt. MS., fol. 789.

Bhabānīdās (written in the 14th century ?) :

(9) Says Bhabanidas (who expresses his devotion to the feet of Ramchandra) by command of Raja Jaychandra.²

—Lakshman-Digbijay (Rajanikanta Banerjee's Ed.), p. 122.

Krittivāsa (15th-16th century) :

(10) The Lord of Gauḍa rules all the five lands of the same name. In worshipping the Lord of Gauḍa one worships nothing but virtue.³

—The Ramayana by Krittivāsa, Poet's Autobiography.

Mālādhār Basu (work completed in 1480 A.D.) :

(11) I have no qualities and have no village in possession. My title Gunarāj Khān (*lit.* Possessor of all virtues) has been bestowed on me by the Lord of Gauḍa.⁴

—Preface of the Bhāgavata (Trans.) by Mālādhār Basu.

¹ অমৃতলহরী ছন্দ, পুণ্য ভারতের বন্ধ, কৃষ্ণের চরিত্র শেষ পর্বের ।

শ্রীযুত জগদানন্দে, অহর্নিশ হরিবন্দে, কবি ষষ্ঠিবর কহে সর্বের ॥

—সঞ্জয়ের মহাভারত, বে. গ. পুথি, ৭৮৯ পত্র ।

² কহেন ভবানীদাস, শ্রীরামের পদে আশ,

জয়চন্দ্র রাজার বচনে ।

—লক্ষণ দিখিজয়, রজনীকান্ত বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের সংস্করণ

(২৮৫, অপার চিৎপুর রোড), ১২২ পৃঃ ।

³ পঞ্চগৌড় চাপিয়া গৌড়েশ্বর রাজা ।

গৌড়েশ্বর পূজা কৈলে গুণের হয় পূজা ॥

—কৃত্তিবাসের রামায়ণে কবির আত্মবিবরণ ।

⁴ নিগুণ অধম মুক্তি, নাহি কোন গ্রাম ।

গৌড়েশ্বর দিল নাম গুণরাজখান ॥

—ভূমিকা, মালাধর বসুর ভাগবতের অনুবাদ ।

Bejoy Gupta (composed in 1494 A.D. ?);

(12) The Sultan Hussain Shah is the best of all princes.¹

—*Manasāmangal* by Bejoy Gupta, p. 4. (Pearymohan Das Gupta's Ed.).

Kavindra Parameswara :

Composed the Mahabharata during Hussain Shah's reign (1494-1525 A.D.).

(13) The Sultan Hussain Shah is a great personage. He has great reputation in the Five Gaḍas. He is well-up in arms and his good qualities are beyond description. He seems to be the Lord Kṛṣṇa of 'Kali Yuga.' The Sultan is the Lord of Gaḍa. The name of his general is Laskar Parāgal Khān. This Laskar is a very high-minded person. He received presents of golden cloth, swift-running horses and land from his sovereign as marks of favour. Thus he came to settle in Chittagong in good spirits. The much-respected Khān rules there being surrounded by a big family. He cheerfully listens to the recitation of the Mahabharata every day.²

—Kavindra's Mahabharata, MS. of Bengal Govt., f. 88.

(14) His Majesty Hussain Shah is the Lord of the Five

¹ সুলতান হোসেন সাহা নৃপতি-তিলক ।

—বিজয় গুপ্ত (প্যারীমোহন দাসগুপ্ত সম্পাদিত), ৪ পৃঃ ।

² নৃপতি হুসেন সাহ হএ মহামতি ।

পঞ্চম গোঁড়েতে যার পরম সুখ্যাতি ॥

অল্প শস্ত্রে সুপণ্ডিত মহিমা অপার ।

কলিকালে হৈব যেন কৃষ্ণ অবতার ॥

নৃপতি হুসেন সাহ গোঁড়ের ঈশ্বর ।

তান হক সেনাপতি হওন্ত লস্কর ॥

লস্কর পরাগল খান মহামতি ।

সুবর্ণ বসন পাইল অশ্ব বায়ুগতি ॥

Gauḍas. He subjugated the kingdoms of Tipperah and Dwarika(?).¹

—Parāgal Khan's Mahabharata (Kavīndra).

(15) The great family of the Rudras is like an ocean. The Laskar Parāgal Khān was born in this family like the moon out of the sea. Kavīndra Parameswara composed this excellent Mahabharata in 'Payar' metre.²

—Kavīndra's Mahabharata.

(16) Long live His Excellency Parāgal Khan who is (like ?) a Kshatriya general.³

—Kavīndra Parameswara.

Dwija Bipradās (from Abdul Karim's collections) :

Date of composition—last part of the 15th century.

(17) In the month of Baisakh and in the night of the tenth quarter of the full moon, the goddess Padmā appeared before me and sat near my pillow, when I was lying in my bed,

লস্করি বিষয় পাই আইবস্ত চলিয়া ।

চাটিগ্রামে চলি গেল হরষিত হৈয়া ॥

পুত্র পৌত্রে রাজ্য করে খান মহামতি ।

পুরাণ শুনন্ত নিতি হরষিত মতি ॥

—কবীন্দ্রের মহাভারত, বেঙ্গল গভর্ণমেণ্টের পুঁথি, ১ম পত্র ।

¹ শ্রীশ্রী হোছন সাহা পঞ্চগৌড় নাথ ।

ত্রিপুর দ্বারিকা সমর্পিলা যাহাত ।

—পরাগলী মহাভারত (কবীন্দ্র) ।

² রুদ্রবংশ রত্নাকর,

তাতে জন্ম সুধাকর

লস্কর পরাগল খান ।

পয়ার প্রবন্ধ স্বরে,

কবীন্দ্র পরমেশ্বরে,

বিরচিত ভারত বাখান ॥

—পরাগলী মহাভারত (কবীন্দ্র) ।

³ খান শ্রীপরাগল

সজীবতি ক্ষত্রিয় সেনাপতিঃ ।

—কবীন্দ্রের মহাভারত ।

and advised me to compose one 'pāñchālī' in her honour. It was her command which was the only source of my inspiration inspite of my shortcomings to be equal to the occasion. I composed this in 1517 Saka (?) (or 1417 Saka ?) or 495 A.D. when the lucky Sultan Hussain Shah (date of reign 1494-1525 A.D.) occupied the throne of Gauda.¹

Srikarañ Nandī (composed in the latter part of the 15th or the early part of the 16th century) :

(18) There is a principal place on earth where there is neither drought nor excessive rain. Nasarat Shah's father Hussain Shah is the great ruler of the place who rules his kingdom with proverbial justice like Ramchandra of Ajodhya. Hussain always follows the well-known principles of politics as enjoined by the Sāstras. His general named Laskar Chhuti Khān once attacked the kingdom of Tipperah. Chhuti Khān's father built a beautiful city with a residence of his own, on the Hill of Chandranāth, just to the north of Chittagong. People flocked into his newly established capital and became his subjects. The river 'Phani' (*lit.* a snake) encircles it completely. To the east of it there is the long range of high hills.²

- ১ শুক্ল দশমী তিথি বৈশাখ মাসে ।
শিয়রে বসিয়া পদ্মা কৈলা উপদেশে ॥
পাঁচালী রচিতে পদ্মা করিলা আদেশ ।
সেই সে ভরসা আর না জানি বিশেষ ॥
সিন্ধু ইন্দু বেদ মহী শক পরিমাণ ।
নৃপতি হুসেন সাহা গোড়ের সুলক্ষণ ॥

—বিজয় বিপ্রদাসের মনসামঞ্জল ।

মুন্সী আব্দুল করিমের বাঙ্গালার প্রাচীন পুথির বিবরণ হইতে ২২ পৃঃ ।

- ২ পৃথিবীর মোক্ষ পবিত্র একস্থান ।
অতিবৃষ্টি অনাবৃষ্টি নাহি কোন কাল ॥

Chhuti Khān is the son of Laskar Parāgal Khan and very valiant in war. His broad chest, long arms reaching down to the knee and attractive gait, like elephant when walking, are remarkable. He is master of all arts and receptacle of all the virtues. He is God's especial creation. His charity may be compared to that of the celebrated Karna. In bravery and gravity befitting a man of his position, he is incomparable. On hearing of his rare qualities the Sultan once summoned him to his presence to reward him. The Sultan loaded him with honours and rich presents which included very good horses and military Jaigirs. He administers the latter in accordance with the four political principles of the Hindu Sāstras. The ruler of Tipperah dreads him so much that he has retired to the inaccessible hilly parts of his kingdom. The Rajah of Tipperah honours him with costly presents, such as the elephants and horses. Although

নসরত সাহ তাত অতি মহারাজা ।
 রাম বহ্নিষ্ঠ পালে সব প্রজা ॥
 নৃপতি হুসেন সাহ যেঅ ক্রিতিপতি ।
 সামদান দণ্ডভেদে পালএ বসুমতি ॥
 তান এক সেনাপতি লস্কর ছুটিখান ।
 ত্রিপুরার উপরে করিল সন্নিধান ॥
 চাটিগ্রাম নগরের নিকট উস্তরে ।
 চন্দ্রশেখর পর্বত কন্দরে ॥
 চারুলোল গিরি তার পৈতৃক বসতি ।
 বিধিত্ত নিশ্চিল তাক কি কহিব অতি ॥
 চারিবর্ণ বসে লোক সেনা সন্নিহিত ।
 নানাগুণে প্রজা সব বসএ তথাত ॥
 ফণী নামে নদী এ বেষ্টিত চারিধার ।
 পূর্ব দিগে মহাগিরি পার নাহি তার ॥
 লস্কর পরাগল খানের তনয় ।
 সমরে নির্ভয় ছুটিখান মহাশয় ॥

the Laskar now remains peacefully in his capital which is built in the midst of a deep jungle, yet the Rajah of Tipperah remains in apprehension of him. The Laskar now passes his days very happily and constantly receives the royal favour which is being multiplied every day. It will thus go on increasing to be enjoyed by his descendants.

The Laskar is a great patron of learned men who adorn his Court. Once, while he was in his court surrounded by his friends and scholars, he desired to hear the sacred Mahabharata as related by the sage Jaimini. Listening to the

আজানুলস্থিত বাহু কমললোচন ।
 বিশাল হৃদয়ে মন্ত গজেন্দ্রগমন ॥
 চতুষ্প্রি কলা বসতি গুণের নিধি ।
 পৃথিবী বিখ্যাত সে যে নির্ম্মাইল বিধি ॥
 দাতা বলি কর্ণসম অপার মহিমা ।
 শৌর্য্যে বীর্য্যে গান্ধীর্ঘ্যে নাহিক যে সীমা ॥
 তাহার যত গুণ শুনিয়া নৃপতি ।
 সম্বাদিয়া আনিলেক কুতূহল মতি ॥
 নৃপতি অগ্রেত তার বহুল সম্মান ।
 ঘোটক প্রসাদ পাইল ছুটিখান ॥
 লস্কর বিষয় পাইয়া মহামতি ।
 সামদান-দণ্ডভেদে পালে বসুমতী ॥
 ত্রিপুরনৃপতি যার ডরে এড়ে দেশ ।
 পর্ব্বত-গহ্বরে গিয়া করিল প্রবেশ ॥
 গজ বাজী করী দিয়া করিল সম্মান ।
 মহাবন মধ্যে তাঁর পুরীর নিৰ্ম্মাণ ॥
 অত্মপি ভয় না দিল মহামতি ।
 তথাপি আতঙ্কে বৈসে ত্রিপুরনৃপতি ॥
 আপনে নৃপতি সন্তুর্পিয়া বিশেষে ।
 সুখে বসে লস্কর আপনার দেশে ॥

“Aswamedha-parba” with much interest—the Laskar ordered for a Bengali translation of the same by way of making his name famous. At his command Srikanan Nandi composes this poem in Bengali “payar” metre.

—Chhuti Khan’s Mahabharata (D. C. Sen & B. Kavya-tirtha’s Ed.), Aswamedha-parba, p. 1.

Madhabacharyya :—(Composed in 1579 A D.)

(19) The land of the Five Gaudas is the best part on Earth. Akbar is the ruler of this land and he is the incarnation of Aryuna.¹

—Chandikavya by Madhabacharyya (Chittagong edition), p. 8.

দিনে দিনে বাড়ে তার রাজ-সম্মান ।
যাবত পৃথিবী থাকে সম্ভূতি তাহান ।
পণ্ডিতে পণ্ডিতে সভাখণ্ড মহামতি ।
একদিন বসিলেক বান্ধব-সংহতি ॥
শুনন্ত ভারত তবে অতি পুণ্য কথা ।
মহামুনি জৈমিনি কহিল সংহিতা ॥
অশ্বমেধ কথা শুনি প্রসন্ন হৃদয় ।
সভাখণ্ডে আদেশিল খান মহাশয় ॥
দেশী ভাষায় এহি কথা রচিল পয়ার ।
সকলরৌক কীর্ত্তি মোর জগত সংসার ॥
তাহান আদেশমালা মস্তকে ধরিয়া ।
শ্রীকর নন্দী কহিলেক পয়ার রচিয়া ॥

—ছুটীখানের মহাভারত, অশ্বমেধ পর্ব, মঙ্গলাচরণ, ১ পৃঃ ।

¹ পঞ্চগৌড় নামে দেশ পৃথিবীর সার ।

একবর নামে রাজা অর্জুন অবতার ॥

—মাধবাচার্য্যের চণ্ডীকাব্য (জাগরণ, চট্টগ্রাম সংস্করণ, ৮ পৃঃ ।)

Kavikankan Mukundaram—(composed in 1589 A.D.)

(20) (a) Raghunath of sterling merits is the Indra of Brahmanbhumi. The poet Mukunda who is a courtier of his, sings the song after composing it in a nice manner.¹

—Kavikankan's Chandikavya, 'Bhanitā', p. 24.

(b) . Pathetic appeal of the lower animals to the goddess Bhagabati,—

O kind-hearted mother, save us from the embarrassments of this world. It is by appealing to you only, we can hope to tide over the difficulties. I am only a petty bear who devour the ants of the ant-hills and not a big person holding substantial property (talucs) like the Neogies and the Chowdhuries. (Here the poet attacks the oppressive land-holders of his country humorously.)

—Kavikankan's Chandikavya, Bear's Appeal, p. 54.

(c) In the town of *Silimabaj* there lived the honest Gopinath Niyogi. The village Damunya which was within his taluc,

¹ (a) শ্রীরঘুনাথ নাম, অশেষ গুণধাম,

ব্রাহ্মণ ভূমির পুরন্দর ।

তাহার সভাসদ, রচিয়া চারুপদ,

গান মুকুন্দ কবির ।

—মুকুন্দরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য, (বঙ্গবাসী সং) ২৪, ৩৪, পৃঃ ।

(b) দয়াময়ী পার কর অপার সংসার ।

তোমার স্মরণে মাতা বিপদ প্রতিকার ॥

উইচারা খাই পশু নামেতে ভালুক ।

নেউগী চৌধুরী নহি না করি ভালুক ॥

—মুকুন্দরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য, ৫৪ পৃঃ (বঙ্গবাসী সংস্করণ) ।

(c) সহর সিলিমাবাজ, তাহাতে সজ্জনরাজ,

নিবসে নিয়োগী গোপীনাথ ।

তাহার তালুকে বসি, দামিন্ধ্যায় চাষ চষি,

নিবাস পুরুষ ছয় সাত ॥

was the home of my forefathers who lived there for some six or seven generations. I was also living there—the abode of my ancestors—and carrying on a farmer's profession. All honour to Raja *Mansingh* who was like a bee in the lotus-feet of the God Vishnu (meaning staunch Vaisnava) and was the ruler of Gauda, Vanga (East Bengal) and Orissa. Unfortunately under the rule of such a pious ruler, *Mamud Sharif* became 'Dihidar' (a local officer) of Silimabaj. Evidently this was due to the sin of the tenants and not to any misgovernment on the part of the pious Raja Mansingha. The Vizier acted like a prince (Rayzada) and was very unpopular as he oppressed the merchants; he was very hostile to the Brahmins and the Vaisnavas. He was also very unjust in the measurements of lands and grains. He would never listen to the prayers of the tenants. The Government became so very tyrannical that it recorded a less productive land as very fertile and took recourse to exactions from the tenants without doing them any good whatsoever. The goldsmith (who was also the village 'mahājan' or money-lender) was also so veritable a devil that he took ten pice in every rupee when

ধন্য রাজা মানসিংহ, বিষ্ণুপদাম্বুজভূষ,
গৌড়-বঙ্গ-উৎকল-অধিপ ।
সে মানসিংহের কালে, প্রজার পাপের কলে,
ডিহীদার মামুদসরিপ ॥
উজির হলো রায়জাদা, বেপারিরে দেয় খেদা,
ব্রাহ্মণ বৈষ্ণবের হলা অরি ।
মাপে কোণে দিয়া দড়া, পনের কাঠায় কুড়া,
নাহি শুনে প্রজার গোহারি ॥
সরকার হইলা কাল, খিল ভূমি লেখে লাল,
বিনা উপকারে খায় ধুতি ।
পোদ্দার হইল যম, টাকায় আড়াই আনা কম,
পাই লভ্য লয় দিন প্রতি ॥

one went to him for some change, and one pie per day for every rupee he lent to others. The Dihidar Mamud Sharif was such a terror in the locality that owing to his oppressions nobody went out to work even if offered payment beforehand and nobody bought cows and paddy. My master Gopinath Nandi fell in extreme difficulties and was put under arrest. There was no rescue for him. The soldiers were ordered to establish themselves in every tenant's house so that they might not flee from their quarters. Thus they were put to a very abject condition and were obliged to sell every household utensil that they could manage to do. They sold even the very ordinary hatchet and a rupee worth of articles on ten annas only. I got the help of Srimanta Khan of Chandibati who on his part took the advice of Munib Khan. With their friendly help I left my village Damunya with my brother Ramānāth when goddess Chandi met me on the way.

—Kavikankan's Chandikavya, (Poet's autobiographical accounts) p. 6 (Bangabasi Ed.)

ডিহিদার অবোধ খোজ, কড়ি দিলে নাহি রোজ,

ধান্য গরু কেহ নাহি কিনে ।

প্রভু গোপীনাথ নন্দী, বিপাকে হইলা বন্দী,

হেতু কিছু নাহি পরিত্রাণে ॥

পেয়াদা সবার কাছে, প্রজারা পলায় পাছে,

ছয়ার চাপিয়া দেয় থানা ।

প্রজা হইল ব্যাকুলি, বেচে ঘরের কুড়ালি,

টাকার দ্রব্য বেচে দশ আনা ॥

সহায় শ্রীমন্ত থা, চণ্ডীবাটী যার গাঁ,

যুক্তি কৈলা মুনিব থার সনে ।

দামুণ্ড ছাড়িয়া যাই, সঙ্গে রমানাথ ভাই,

পথে চণ্ডী দিলা দরশনে ॥

—কবিকঙ্কণ মুকুন্দরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য (বঙ্গবাসী সং), ৬ পৃঃ ।

(d) I have seen Kalinga, Trailinga (Telingana?), Anga, Vanga, Karnat, Mahendra, Magadh, Maharashtra, Gujrat, Barendra, Bandar, Vindhya, Pingala, Utkal, Dravida, Rarha, Bijaynagar, Mathura, Dwaraka, Kasi, Kankhal, Kekaya, Purabak, Anayak, Godavari, Gaya, Sylhet, Kamrup, Koch (Koch-Bihar?), Hāngar, Trihatta, Mānikā, Fatikā, Lanka, Prālamba, Nakutta, Bāgan, Malaya, Kurukshetra, Bāteswari, Ahulanka, Saptagram, Sivā-tatta, Maha-Natta and Hastina—besides other places the names of which are difficult to exhaust. Many merchants live in these places or visit these places with ships. The port of Saptagram stands pre-eminently above those places inasmuch as the merchants of Saptagram never visit other places because they have no need to do so, while the merchants of other places visit this port with merchandise. The Saptagram-merchants get happiness and spiritual bliss by remaining in their own native port. Saptagram is even the best of all holy places and is ruled by the religious injunctions of the seven “Rishis”.

—Kavikankan Mukundaram's Chandikavya, p. 196,

(Bangabasi Ed.).

(d) কলিঙ্গ ত্রৈলিঙ্গ অঙ্গ বঙ্গ কর্ণাট ।
 মহেন্দ্র মগধ মহারাষ্ট্র গুজরাট ॥
 বরেন্দ্র বন্দর বিক্রা পিঙ্গল শফর ।
 উৎকল দ্রাবিড় রাঢ় বিজয়নগর ॥
 মথুরা দ্বারকা কাশী কনখল কেকয়া ।
 পুরবক অনায়ক গোদাবরী गया ॥
 শ্রীহট্ট কাডুর কোঁচ হাঙ্গর ত্রিহট্ট ।
 মাণিকা ফটিকা লঙ্কা প্রলম্ব নাকুট্ট ॥
 বাগন মালয়দেশ কুরুক্ষেত্র নাম ।
 বটেশ্বরী আহলঙ্কা স্থল সপ্তগ্রাম ॥
 শিবাতট্ট মহানট্ট হস্তিনা নগরী ।
 আর যত সফর করিতে কত পারি ॥

Rasaraj Khan—(composed probably in the early 16th century).

(21) His Majesty the Sultan Hussain of Bengal, who is the ornament of earth, knows this 'Rasa' (emotion) well. Says *Rasaraj Khan*—Let the Lord of the Five Gaudas enjoy his fortune like a second Indra.¹

Rasamanjari by *Rasaraj Khan*, p. 8.

Krisnadas Kaviraj—(completed his work in 1615 A.D.).

(22) (a) The Mahomedan Lord of Gauda said the following on hearing the extraordinary influence of Chaitanya Dev²:—

এ সব সফরে যত সদাগর বৈসে ।
জঙ্গ * ডিম্বালয়ে তারা বাণিজ্যেতে আইসে ॥
সপ্তগ্রামের বেণে সব কোথাও না যায় ।
ঘরে বস্ত্রে সুখ মোক্ষ নানা ধন পায় ॥
তীর্থ মধ্যে পুণ্য তীর্থ অতি অশুপাম ।
সপ্তঋষির শাসন বোলায় সপ্তগ্রাম ॥

—মুকুন্দরামের চণ্ডীকাব্য (বঙ্গবাসী সং), ১৯৬ পৃঃ।

* জঙ্গ, Chinese Junk boat (?).

¹ শ্রীযুত হসন জগত ভূসন,
সোহ এ রস জান ।
পঞ্চ গোড়েশ্বর ভোগ পুরন্দর,
ভণে রসরাজ খান ॥

—রসমঞ্জরী (রসরাজখান), ৮ পৃঃ।

² (a) গোড়েশ্বর যবনরাজা প্রভাব শুনিঞা ।
কহিতে লাগিলা কিছু বিস্মিত হইয়া ॥
বিনা দানে এত লোক যার পাছে ধায় ।
সেইত গোসাত্তি ইহা জানিহ নিশ্চয় ॥
কাজি যবন কেহ ইহার না কর হিংসন ।
আপন ইচ্ছায় বলুন যাহা ইহার মন ॥
কেশব ছত্রিরে রাজা বার্তা যে পুছিল ।
প্রভুর মহিমা ছত্রি উড়াইয়া দিল ॥

"The gathering of people in large numbers around Chaitanya Dev, though they do not receive anything from him, shows that the man must be a saint. Henceforth I command the Kazis and Mahomedans in general not to molest this man. Let him speak anything he desires." The Sultan enquired of Kesab Chhatri about the Lord Chaitanya. To save Chaitanya Dev from any suspicion on the part of the Sultan, Keshab Chhatri, who was secretly a staunch follower of the Lord, said, "Chaitanya is a common Sannyasi and a beggar. Only a few persons come to see him. Your Majesty's co-religionists unduly magnify the real state of affairs. It is no use annoying him for nothing." Thus consoling the Sultan, the Chhatri sent a Brahmin to Chaitanya Dev confidentially, to inform him about the state of affairs in the Capital and the attitude of the Sultan. The Sultan then privately asked Davir Khas (his minister) of Chaitanya Dev. Davir Khas replied in glowing terms about the saint. He said, "It is the Lord Chaitanya who has bestowed a kingdom on the Sultan. It is through the good luck of the Sultan that a saint like Chaitanya Dev has been born in his kingdom. He is your well-wisher, he said, "and surely you will attain all round prosperity by his benediction. Why should you ask

ভিক্ষারী সন্ন্যাসী করে তীর্থ পর্যটন ।
 তারে দেখিবারে আইসে দুই চারি জন ॥
 যবনে তোমার ঠাই করয়ে লাগনি ।
 তাঁর হিংসায় লাভ নাহি হয় মাত্র হানি ॥
 রাজারে প্রবোধি ছত্রী ব্রাহ্মণ পাঠাইয়া ।
 বলিবার তরে প্রভুরে পাঠাইল কহিয়া ॥
 দবীর খাসেরে রাজা পুছিল নিভূতে ।
 গোসাঞির মহিমা তিহো লাগিলা কহিতে ॥
 যে তোমারে রাজ্য দিল তোমারে গোসাঞি ।
 তোমার ভাগ্যে তোমার দেশে জন্মিল আসিঞা ॥

me at all for all these ? Your Majesty may yourself consult your mind and know everything. You are the Lord of Nava-dwipa and so you have in you the same essence of the God Vishnu (who is the fountain-head of all the rulers of the Earth). Your intellect must therefore be very pure and so it must be the receptacle of all true knowledge regarding Chaitanya Dev.” Then the Sultan replied, “To my mind this Chaitanya is no doubt the God himself personified.” After declaring his opinion about Chaitanya Dev in these terms, the Sultan entered his harem, when Davir Khas also left the chamber for his own quarters.

—Chaitanya Charitamrita by Krisnadas Kaviraj, Vol. I, Madhya Khanda, Chapter I, pp. 28-29.

(b) Is he (Chaitanya Dev) not a Brahmin who looks like Brahmā himself in glow ? Why does he cry embracing a Sudra ?

তোমার মঙ্গল বাঞ্ছে বাক্যসিদ্ধ হয় ।
 ইহার আশীর্ব্বাদে তোমার সর্ব্বত্রোতে জয় ॥
 মোরে কেন পুছ তুমি পুছ আপন মন ।
 তুমি নবাধিপ হও বিষ্ণু অংশ সম ॥
 তোমার চিন্তে চৈতন্যের কৈছে হয় জ্ঞান ।
 তোমার চিন্তে যেই লয় সেইত প্রমাণ ॥
 রাজা কহে শুন মোর চিন্তে যেই লয় ।
 সাক্ষাৎ ঈশ্বর ইহৌ নাহিক সংশয় ॥
 এত কহি রাজা গেলা নিজ অভ্যন্তর ।
 দবীর খাস আইলা তবে আপনার ঘর ॥

—কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজের চৈতন্য-চরিতামৃত (জগন্মোহন দাস ও রামনারায়ণ বিজ্ঞানরত্ন সম্পাদিত, বহরমপুর), মধ্যখণ্ড, প্রথম পরিচ্ছেদ, ২৮-২৯ পৃঃ ।

(b) এই না ব্রাহ্মণ তেজে দেখি ব্রাহ্মসম ।
 শূদ্রে আলিঙ্গিয়া কেন করেন ক্রন্দন ॥

—চৈতন্য-চরিতামৃত, মধ্যখণ্ড ।

(c) In the morning Chaitanya bathed in the river. Thinking that it was time to leave Brindaban he fell in a trance and lost all consciousness of the outside world. Bhattacharyya (Basudev Sarbabhaum) proposed to the Lord to visit the Mahabana forest. He then took Chaitanya Dev on a boat, crossed the river and reached the other side. They took with them Krisnadas and the Brahmin (their former acquaintance) as guides who knew the locality well. On the way they (six in all) sat under a tree feeling very tired. Near the tree the cows were grazing in great numbers. The Lord saw them and his heart leapt with joy. All on a sudden a cowherd blew a flute. As soon as it reached the ears of the Lord, the sublime love overpowered him and he fell on the ground senseless. Foams were coming out of the mouth and respirations came to a standstill. Just at that time ten Mahomedan horsemen came up to that place in a gallop and alighted from their steeds. Seeing the Lord in a trance they thought that perhaps the 'Yati' (ascetic) had

(c) প্রাতঃকালে মহাপ্রভু প্রাতঃস্নান কৈল ।
 বৃন্দাবন ছাড়িব জানি প্রেমাবেশ হৈল ॥
 বাহুবিচার নাহি প্রেমাবিস্ত মন ।
 ভট্টাচার্য্য কহে চল যাই মহাবন ॥
 এত বলি প্রভুকে নৌকায় বসাইঞা ।
 পার করি ভট্টাচার্য্য চলিলা লইয়া ॥
 প্রেমী কৃষ্ণদাস আর সেইত ব্রাহ্মণ ।
 গঙ্গাতীর পথে যাইতে বিস্ত দুইজন ॥
 যাইতে এক বৃক্ষতলে প্রভু সবা লঞা
 বসিলা সবার পথশ্রান্তি দেখিঞা ॥
 সেই বৃক্ষ নিকটে চরে বহু গাভীগণ ।
 তাহা দেখি মহাপ্রভুর উল্লসিত মন ॥
 আচম্বিতে এক গোপ বাঁশী বাজাইল ।
 শুনিতাই মহাপ্রভুর প্রেমাবেশ হইল ॥

gold with him and these five fellows coveting it used 'Dāturā' to kill him and thereby to decamp with the gold. No sooner had this occurred in their mind than the Pathans arrested the five companions of the Lord and threatened to kill them one and all.

Among the five, the Rajput Krisnadas was very brave. That Brāhmin too was very brave and got a very sharp tongue. The latter said, "O Pathans, I call you in the name of your Badshah (Emperor) to take us to the Sikdar (local military officer). This 'Yati' is my preceptor and I am a Brahman of Mathura. In the court of the Emperor I have got sufficient friends to support my cause. This Yati has got a disease for which he often falls senseless. He will recover his senses just now. if you wait here for a short time after tying us down, you will find the Sannyasi coming

অচেতন হৈএগ প্রভু ভূমিতে পড়িলা ।
 মুখে ফেন পড়ে নাসায় শ্বাস রুদ্ধ হৈলা ॥
 হেনকালে তাঁহা আসোয়ার দশ আইলা ।
 ম্লেচ্ছ পাঠান ঘোড়া হইতে উত্তরিলা ॥
 প্রভুরে দেখিয়া ম্লেচ্ছ করয়ে বিচার ।
 এই যতি পাশ ছিল স্তবর্ণ অপার ॥
 এই পঞ্চ বাটোয়ার ধুতুরা খাওয়াইএগ ।
 মারি ভাবিয়াছে যতির সব ধন লএগ ॥
 তবে পাঠান সেই পঞ্চজনেরে বান্ধিল ।
 কাটিতে চাহে গোড়িয়া সব কাঁদিতে লাগিল ॥
 কৃষ্ণদাস রাজপুত নির্ভয় সে বড় ।
 সেই বিপ্র নির্ভয় সে মুখে বড় দড় ॥
 বিপ্র কহে পাঠান তোমার পাতিসার দোহাই ।
 চল তুমি আমি শিকদার পাশ যাই ॥
 এই যতি আমার গুরু আমি মাথুর ব্রাহ্মণ ।
 পাতসার আগে আমার আছে শত জন ॥

round again. First ask him about the state of affairs and then kill me if you please." The Pathans replied, "We believe you two to be up-country Sadhus; but we suspect the three Bengalees who are trembling, to be robbers." Krisnadas said, "I live in the neighbouring village where I have got a company of cavalry numbering two hundred horsemen and an artillery composed of a hundred cannons. They will instantly come up here if I give the necessary signal. They will kill you all and take away pillage both the horses and the saddles. The Bengalees are not robbers—it is you who are so. You like to fleece the innocent pilgrims and kill them." Hearing this, the Pathans got afraid. Just then the Lord recovered,

এই যতি ব্যাধিতে কভু হয়েত মুচ্ছিত ।
অবহি" চেতন পাবে হইয়া সন্নিহ ॥
ক্ষণিক ইহা বৈশ বান্ধি রাখ ই সবারে ।
ইহাকে পুছিয়া তুমি মারহ আমারে ॥
পাঠান কহে তুমি পশ্চিমা সাধু দুই জন ।
গৌড়ীয়া ঠগ এই কাঁপে তিন জন ॥
কৃষ্ণদাস কহে মোর ঘর এই গ্রামে ।
দুইশত তুরকী আছে শতেক কামানে ॥
এখনি আসিব সব আমি যদি ফুকরি ।
ঘোড়াপিড়া লবে লুটি তোমা সব মারি ॥
গৌড়ীয়া বাটপাড় নহে তুমি বাটপাড় ।
তীর্থবাসী লুট আর চাহ মারিবার ॥
শুনি পাঠানের মনে সঙ্কোচ হইল ।
হেনকালে মহাপ্রভু চেতন পাইল ॥
ছন্দার করিয়া উঠে বলে হরি হরি ।
প্রেমাবেশে নৃত্য করে উজ্জ্বল বহু করি ॥
প্রেমাবেশে প্রভু যদি করয়ে চীৎকার ।
শ্লেচ্ছের হৃদয়ে যেন লাগে শেলধার ॥

raised up his arms and began to dance in ecstasy shouting all the time the name of Hari. On witnessing such a scene the Mahomedans became alarmed, and freed the five companions of the Lord. They did it with such a haste that the Lord could not even see his companions' sad plight. Bhattacharyya caught the Lord in his arms and made him sit down. Then the Lord found time to see the Mahomedan cavalry-men before him and came to his senses. They bowed to him from a distance and pointed out to him his five companions whom they described as the thugs. They said, "These five conspired to drug you with 'Dātūrā' and rob you of your gold." The Lord said, "They are not thugs as you imagine but my companions. I am only a beggar—a Sannyasi—who does not possess any wealth whatsoever. I often suffer from epileptic fits and these five are kind enough

ভয় পাঞা য়েচ্ছ ছাড়ি দিল পঞ্চজন ।
 প্রভু না দেখিল নিজগণের বন্ধন ॥
 ভট্টাচার্য্য আসি ধরি প্রভু বসাইল ।
 য়েচ্ছগণ আগে দেখি প্রভুর বাহু জ্ঞান হইল ॥
 য়েচ্ছগণ আসি দূরে বন্দিল চরণ ।
 প্রভু আগে কহে এই ঠগ পঞ্চজন ॥
 এই পঞ্চ মেলি তোমায় ধুতুরা খাওয়াইয়া ।
 তোমার ধন লৈল তোমা পাগল করিয়া ॥
 প্রভু কহে ঠগ নহে মোর সঙ্গী জন ।
 ভিক্ষুক সন্ন্যাসী মোর নাহি কিছু ধন ॥
 মৃগী ব্যাধিতে মুঞি কভু হই অচেতন ।
 এই পঞ্চ দয়া করি করেন পালন ॥
 সেই য়েচ্ছ মধ্যে এক পরম গম্ভীর ।
 কালা বস্ত্র পরে তারে লোকে কহে পীর ॥
 চিত্ত আর্দ্র হৈল তার প্রভুকে দেখিয়া ।
 নির্বিশেষ ব্রহ্ম স্থাপে স্বশাস্ত্র উঠাইয়া ॥

to nurse me then." Among the Mahomedans there was one, who looked very grave. He wore a black dress resembling that of a 'pir' or Mahomedan saint. His mind yearned to have a theological conversation with our Lord. Consequently a discussion arose in which the Mahomedan was completely defeated by the Lord. The Mahomedan was struck dumb at his argument and admitted his defeat. * * * He admitted the principle of a personal God, described our Lord as God personified and agreed to all the points of Vaisnava theology. He said, "My tongue utters the name of Krisna on seeing you. My vanity as a learned man leaves me. Now do please give me instructions on Vaisnava theology." Saying this, the man fell prostrate at the feet of Chaitanya Dev who said, "Get up. As you utter the name of Krisna you are now purged of the sin committed not only in this life but also in a crore of previous lives." At the bidding of the Lord, all of them uttered the name of Krisna in ecstasy. The Lord henceforth named him Ramdas. The name of

অদ্বয় ব্রহ্মবাদ সেই করিল স্থাপন ।

অরি শাস্ত্র যুক্তো প্রভু করিল খণ্ডন ॥

সেই যাহা কহে প্রভু সকল খণ্ডিল ।

উত্তর না আইসে মুখে মহাস্তব্ধ হৈল ॥

* * * *

য়েচ্ছ কহে যে কহ সেই সত্য হয় ।

শাস্ত্রে লিখিয়াছে কেহ লৈতে না পারয় ॥

নির্বিশেষ গোসাঞি লঞা করেন ব্যাখ্যান ।

সাকার গোসাঞি সেব্য কারো নাহি জ্ঞান ॥

সেইত গোসাঞি তুমি সাক্ষাৎ ঈশ্বর ।

মোরে কৃপা কর মুঞি অযোগ্য পামর ॥

অনেক দেখিল মুঞি য়েচ্ছ শাস্ত্র হৈতে ।

সাধ্য সাধন বস্তু নারি নির্দ্ধারিতে ॥

another Pathan was *Bijuli Khan*. He was young in age and a prince by birth. Ramdas and other Pathans were his servants. Bijuli Khan fell at the feet of our Lord and uttered the name of Krishna. The Lord favoured him by putting his holy feet on his head. After thus favouring the Pathans, the Lord left the place. Henceforth these Pathans became Vaisnava devotees and went by the name *Pathan Vaisnavas*. They used to sing about the achievements of the Lord Chaitanya from place to place. Bijuli Khan became in time a great saint and very famous in all the holy

তোমা দেখি জিহ্বা মোর লয় কৃষ্ণনাম ।
 আমি বড় জ্ঞানী এই গেল অভিমান ॥
 কৃপা করি কহ মোরে সাধ্য সাধনে ।
 এত বলি পড়ে সেই প্রভুর চরণে ॥
 প্রভু কহে উঠ কৃষ্ণ নাম তুমি লৈলা ।
 কোটি জন্মের পাপ গেল পবিত্র হইলা ॥
 কৃষ্ণ কহ কৃষ্ণ কহ কৈল উপদেশ ।
 সবে কৃষ্ণ কহে সবার হৈল প্রেমাবেশ ॥
 রামদাস বলি প্রভু তার কৈল নাম ।
 আর এক পাঠানের নাম বিজুলি খান ॥
 অল্প বয়স তেঁহো রাজার কুমার ।
 রামদাস আদি পাঠান চাকর তাহার ॥
 কৃষ্ণ বলি পড়ে সেই মহাপ্রভুর পায় ।
 প্রভু শ্রীচরণ দিল তাহার মাথায় ॥
 তা সবারে কৃপা করি প্রভু ত চলিলা ।
 সেই ত পাঠান সব বৈরাগী হইলা ।
 পাঠান বৈষ্ণব বলি হৈল তার খ্যাতি ।
 সর্বত্র গাইয়া বুলে মহাপ্রভুর কীর্তি ॥
 সেই বিজুলি খান হৈল মহাভাগবত ।
 সর্ব তীর্থে হৈল তার পরম মহত্ব ॥

places. Thus worked the Lord in the up-country where he showed favour even to the Mahomedans.

—Krisnadas Kaviraj's Chaitanya Charitamrita (Berhampore ed.), Madhya Khanda, pp. 736-743.

Narahari Chakravarti—(written 16th-17th Century)

(23) Who can exhaust by telling the extent of mischief committed by the people (of Navadwip)? In almost every house there could be found blood of goats, sheep and buffaloes freely flowing (being sacrificed to some gods or goddesses). Some even grasp the severed head of man in one hand and a heavy sword in another, and dance tipsily. If anybody crossed their path at that time, it would be all over with him, even if he be a Brahmin. All of them (not excepting women) were corrupt and transgressed the sanctity of caste rules. They did never take their meals without meat and wine.¹

—Narottam-Vilāsa, the Seventh Vilāsa.

এছে লীলা করে প্রভু শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্য ।

পশ্চিম আসিয়া কৈল যবনাদি ধন্য ॥

—কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজের চৈতন্য-চরিতামৃত (বহরমপুর সং), মধ্যখণ্ড, ১৮শ
অধ্যায়, ৭৩৬-৭৪৩ পৃঃ ।

¹ করয়ে কুক্রিয়া যত কে কহিতে পারে ।

ছাগ মেঘ মহিষ শোণিত ঘর দ্বারে ॥

কেহ কেহ মানুষের কাটা মুণ্ড লৈয়া ।

খড়গ করে করয় নর্তন মত্ত হৈয়া ॥

সে সময়ে যদি কেহ সেই পথে যায় ।

হইলেও বিপ্র তার হাত না এড়ায় ॥

সভে দ্রৌ লম্পট জাতি বিচার রহিত ।

মত্ত মাংস বিনে না ভুঞ্জয়ে কদাচিত ॥

—নরহরি চক্রবর্তীর নরোত্তমবিলাস, সপ্তম বিলাস ।

Govinda Das—(flourished 16th Century)

(24) When the Lord Chaitanya goes on his round with his “Sankirtan” party (in Puri, the capital of Orissa) the king Pratap-Rudra follows him running in tattered clothes (by way of humility).¹

—Kadchā by Govinda Das.

Vrindavan Das—(born 1507 A.D.)

(25) (a) Although Brahmins by caste yet Jagai and Madhai took such prohibited food as wine and beef. They always committed robbery, theft and incendiarism.²

—Chaitanya Bhagavata.

(b) He was that very Hussain Shah who destroyed so many images and temples in Orissa.

—Chaitanya Bhagavata, Last part.

Kasiram Das—(flourished 16th-17th Century)

(26) (a) The country (Pargannah) of Indrani is a very old place. Here, by the side of the Bhagirathi stand twelve holy places. I was born in a Kayastha family of the village Singi. I give my genealogy as follows :—³

¹ নগর কীৰ্ত্তনে যবে মহাপ্রভু যায় ।
দীনবেশে মহারাজ পেছু পেছু ধায় ॥

—গোবিন্দ দাসের কড়চা ।

² (a) ব্রাহ্মণ হইয়া মত্ত গোমাংস ভক্ষণ ।
ডাকাচুরি পরগৃহ দাহ অনুক্ষণ ॥

—চৈতন্য-ভাগবত ।

(b) যে হুসেন সাহা সর্ব উড়িষ্যার দেশে ।
দেবমূর্তি ভাঙ্গিলেক দেউল বিশেষে ॥

—চৈতন্য-ভাগবত, অন্ত খণ্ড ।

³ (a) ইন্দ্রাণী নামেতে দেশ পূর্বাপর স্থিতি ।
দ্বাদশ তীর্থেতে যথা বৈসে ভাগীরথী ॥
কায়স্থ কুলেতে জন্ম বাস সিদ্ধিগ্রাম ।
প্রিয়ঙ্কর দাস পুত্র সুধাকর নাম ॥

Priyankar was the forefather of our family. His son was named Sudhakar. His son was Kamalakanta. Kamalakanta's eldest son was named Krisnadas. I am younger than Krisnadas and elder than Gadadhar. I describe the above in 'Panchali' metre and hope that I may be the bee in the lotus feet of Sreekrishna.

—Kasiram Das's Mahabharata, 'Swargarohan Parba,' p. 1190.

(b) The village of Hariharpur is an excellent place in every sense of the term. In it lives Abhiram Mukhopadhyay (*lit.* Mukhati) son of Purushottam Mukhopadhyay. Kasiram composes the Mahabharata at his directions. Let my mind always remain faithful to the feet of the Brahmins.¹

—Kasiram's Mahabharata "Udyoga Parba," p. 675.

Nityananda Das—(composed in the early part of the 17th Century)²

(27) Formerly these fellows were in the employ of Chand Ray as soldiers, when they committed many robberies. They

তৎপুত্র কমলাকান্ত কৃষ্ণদাস পিতা ।

কৃষ্ণদাসানুজ, গদাধর জ্যেষ্ঠ ভ্রাতা ॥

পাঁচালি প্রকাশি কহে কাশীরাম দাস ।

অলি হব কৃষ্ণ পদে মনে অভিলাষ ॥

—কাশীরাম দাসের মহাভারত, স্বর্গারোহণ পর্ব, ১১৯০ পৃঃ ।

¹ (b) হরিহরপুর গ্রাম সর্বগুণধাম ।

পুরুষোত্তম নন্দন মুখটি অভিরাম ॥

কাশীদাস বিরচিল তার আশীর্ব্বাদে ।

সদাচিত্ত রহে যেন দ্বিজ পাদপদ্মে ॥

—কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত, উত্তোগ পর্ব, ৬৭৫ পৃঃ ।

² পূর্বে তার চাঁদ রায়ের সৈন্য যে আছিল ।

চাঁদ রায়ের সনে বহু দস্যবৃত্তি কৈলা ॥

চাঁদ রায়ের আত্মীয় বান্ধব এরা হয় ।

যুদ্ধ করি যবনেরে কৈলা পরাজয় ॥

were kith and kin of Chand Ray and therefore fought the Mussulmans bravely, ultimately defeating them. These myrmidons of Chand Ray pillaged many a land and increased the territorial boundary of their master. The Mahomedan Lord of Gauda could not dare to meet them in the field, such was their prowess.....Fully appreciating the influence of Narottam Das, they gave up their predatory habits and one and all became his disciples.

—The Prem-Vilāsa by Nityananda Das, 19th Vilāsa.

Alaol—(composed in 1618 A.D.)

(28) “Daulat Kazi wrote ‘Chandrāni’ by order of the Vizier Laskar Asraf. So do you compose “Padmāvatī” by my (Magan Thakur’s) command.” I listened to him with much respect and in accordance with his order, I promised to write the work.¹

—Alaol’s Padmāvatī, p. 15.

নানা দেশ লুটে রাজ্য করয়ে বিস্তার ।

ভয়েতে যবনরাজ নহে আগুসার ॥

* * * *

ঠাকুর মহাশয়ের প্রভাব জানি তার মর্ম্ম ।

সবে হইলেন শিষ্য ছাড়ি পূর্ব্ব ধর্ম্ম ॥

—নিত্যানন্দ দাসের প্রেমবিলাস, ১৯শ বিলাস ।

¹ যে হেন দৌলত কাজি চন্দ্রানি রচিল ।

লস্কর উজির আসরাফ আজ্ঞা দিল ॥

তেন পদ্মাবতি রচো মোর আজ্ঞা ধরি ।

হেন কথা শুনিতে মনে বহু শ্রদ্ধা করি ॥

তাহান আদেশ মাল্য ধরিয়া মস্তক ।

অঙ্গীকার কৈল আমি রচিতে পুস্তক ॥

—পদ্মাবতী (আলাওল), ১৫ পৃঃ ।

Ketakadas Kshemananda—(probably composed in 1650 A.D.)

(29) I am relating below how in the past the goddess Durga granted me a boon in conjunction with the goddess Manasa.

I live in the taluk of one Balivadra the son of Chandrahas. Balibhadra died leaving three minor sons—the heirs of his property. One Askarna Ray who was very valiant in war was beloved of Balivadra like a son. The property was managed after the death of Balibhadra by one Prasad who was the 'Guru' of the three children of Balivadra and lived in the same taluk. The place became so thinly-populated that there was hardly anybody to carry on cultivation. The village of Kanthra became so deserted that it reminded one of the nether world.¹

- ¹ সুন ভাই পূর্বকথা, দেবী হৈলা বরদাতা,
সহায় পূর্বক বিষহরী ।
বলিভদ্র মহাশয়, চন্দ্রহাসের তনয়,
তাহার তালুকে ঘর করি ॥
তাহার রাজত্ব শেষ, চলি গেল স্বর্গদেশ,
তিন পুত্রে দিয়ে অধিকার ।
শ্রীযুক্ত আশ্বর্ষ্য রায়, পুত্রের অধিক তায়,
রণে বনে বিজয়ী তাহার ॥
তিন পুত্র অল্প বয়, প্রমাদ গুরু মহাশয়,
তালুকের করে লেখাপড়া ।
তাহার তালুকে বৈসে, প্রজা নাই চাষ চসে,
শমন নগর হৈল কাঁথড়া ॥
রণে পড়ে বারান্ধা, বিপাকে ছাড়িল গাঁ,
যুক্ত করেন জনে জন ।
দিন কত ছাড়িয়া জাই, তবে সে নিস্তার পাই,
সকলের তবে ভাল জান ॥

Matiulla (date ?)—

(32) Says the humble poet *Matiulla*, “He, who lives in this world without a friend is without any supporter whatever. I have fortunately got one friend myself—he is my patron *Shêikh Khan Mohammad*. Bowing to his feet with respect, I tell other people this interesting story. If there be any error in thought, style and metre, I think my indulgent and wise listeners would kindly excuse them and correct them themselves.¹

—From *Munshi Abdul Karim’s* collection of Old Bengali MSS., p. 13 (“*Rasaranger Bāramash*”).

Rameswar—(probably composed in 1750 A.D.)

(33) *Yasomanta* is the receptacle of all virtues. I, *Rameswar*, is his client and live under his patronage. I have composed *Siva-Sankirtan*.²

—*Siva-Sankirtan* by *Rameswar*.

¹ কহে মতিওল্লা হীনে, যে রহিল বন্ধু বিনে,
সে হইল ছ’কুল অনাধিনী ॥

সেখ খান মোহম্মদ, প্রণামি তাহান পদ,
আন স্তুতে কহে রসবাণী ।

অর্থভার রস ছন্দ, যদি হয় ভাল মন্দ,
বিচারে শোধিও দোষ জ্ঞানী ॥

—রসরঞ্জের বারমাস । (মুন্সি আব্দুল করিমের বাঙ্গালা প্রাচীন পুঁথির
বিবরণ হইতে) ১৩ পৃঃ ।

² যশোমন্ত,
সবগুণবন্ত,
তন্তু পোষ্য রামেশ্বর,
তদাশ্রয়ে করি ঘর;—
বিরচিল শিব-সংকীৰ্তন ।

—রামেশ্বরের শিব-সংকীৰ্তন ।

Anantaram—(somewhere between the middle of the 16th Century and the middle of the 18th Century).

(34) On remembering the dust of Bisārada's feet, I finish the first chapter in verse.¹

—Anantaram's *Kriyāyogasār* MSS.

¹ বিশারদপদে সেই রেণু অভিপ্রায় ।

পদবন্ধে রচিলেক প্রথম অধ্যায় ॥

—অনন্তরামকৃত ক্রিয়াযোগসার, হস্তলিখিত পুথি ।



A VISIT TO BRINDABAN

DR. T. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

(Reprinted from the Calcutta Review, November, 1937)

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

A VISIT TO BRINDABAN

DR. TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH. D.

Post-Graduate Lecturer, Calcutta University.

JUST on the eve of the Pujas last year I started for Brindaban with a party of nine students belonging to the Sixth Year Indian Vernaculars Department of the Calcutta University *via* Benares and Agra. The object of the tour was to combine the pleasures of an excursion with some enquiries in connection with the Vaisnava period of the Mediaeval Bengali literature and I spared no pains to utilise the brief period of twelve days at my disposal for purpose.

We broke journey at Benares on our way to Brindaban and spent nearly two days hurriedly visiting some places of interest which we thought interesting enough to deserve attention. I may mention, in this connection, the temples of Viswanath and Annapurna, the Hindu University, Sarnath, the Observatory and the Twin Pillars. I was struck by the religious outlook of the Bengali Hindus in contrast with that of the other peoples of India. Last time I happened to visit Puri-Bhubaneswar locality with a batch of students belonging to the Indian Vernaculars Department just as this year I visited Benares. Both the places contain relics of the Saiva cult and preserve associations of Buddhism and Jainism which to some extent subverted or influenced the Hindu cult of Siva. Siva at Bhubaneswar had to contend with the Jaina influence of Khandagiri-Udayagiri while at Benares he had a similar rival in Buddha himself in the neighbouring village of Mrigadava later on known as Sarnath. This place was chosen by Buddha himself as his first preaching centre. In spite of his best efforts perhaps he did not achieve any appreciable success. The Bengali Hindus patronise in a far greater degree the Siva of Benares than they do the Siva at Bhubaneswar. Its chief reason is not far to seek. Orissa has certain folk-lore similar to the folk-songs of Bengal in honour of Siva. Bengal and Orissa being for a pretty long time under one political domination developed many common points of culture and religion having drawn their inspiration from the Non-Aryan South. But when the outlook changed and the agricultural god Siva of Bengal became fully Aryanised, Bengal looked more to

Benares than to Orissa for its religious inspiration. Hence, Benares became a great centre of pilgrimage for the Bengali. This happened to such an extent that the Bengali gradually began to settle at Benares in large numbers and in course of time made the town an adjunct of Bengal. Under the circumstances, the Sivayana literature of Bengal has very little to do with the traditions of the god of Benares, though the Annadamangal of Bharat Chandra has many references to the god and the place. As regards Sarnath the stupendous stupa and the excavations around, inflamed the imagination of the students and made them think of the past greatness of India. The same, however, cannot be said of the recent architecture and paintings of Mulagandhakuti-vihara (a neighbouring building) belonging to a certain Ceylonese organisation. The fresco-paintings here were executed by the celebrated Japanese artist, Mr. Noshu. These seemed excellent indeed, but whether the combination of the ideal of Ajanta School of painting with that of the Japanese School is at all happy—is for connoisseurs to decide.

Leaving Benares we reached Agra on the 15th October. There, we passed two days in sight-seeing. The fine Moghul architecture and sculpture as represented in the Tajmahal, Agra Fort, Sikandra, Itimadud-daullah and Fatehpur-Sikri overwhelmed us. We also admired the workmanship in some other minor buildings of the place. There may not be any connection of these buildings directly with our literature still their cultural value is immense. The beautiful queen of the Mausoleums, the Taj, created an impression in our minds never to be forgotten. The Sikandra, a few miles off from the town, contains the grave of the celebrated Akbar, while the building of Itimadud-daullah, as its name indicates, contains the grave of Itimadud-daullah (Nurjahan's father) and of his family. All these fine buildings are splendid monuments of Moghul architecture. At Sikri the Moghul art is relieved here and there with specimens of Hindu and Chinese arts. Besides, the stupendous gate of Sikri known as the Buland-Durwaza with huge flights of stairs cannot escape one's notice. The grand buildings at Agra overlooking the Taj contain many reminiscences of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The buildings as described in our old Bengali literature bear some resemblance to the specimens of architecture in the Up-country so far as hugeness and general plans are concerned. Here we miss, however, our Bāraduari Ghar, Bāngālā Ghar and the huge tanks, but nevertheless there are the

Jaltungi pillars, courtyards and compounds as described in our Bengali literature. Our literature describes a combination of Hindu and Indo-Saracenic art in the construction of towns and buildings, as a natural sequel to the composition of many literary works during Islamic rule in Bengal.

We left Agra on Saturday, the 17th and reached Brindaban the same evening. The whole journey from Howrah to Brindaban in spite of occasional stoppages was extremely tiresome. However, we reached our destination safely. Our stay in the place was for nearly six days, and we finished our work as much as possible with haste within this short time. On reaching the destination our dream was somewhat shaken regarding the idyllic land of Lord Krishna. The present Brindaban is a small town with narrow streets and lanes and closely packed buildings. The town once stood on the very bank of the tortoise-infested Jamuna but now the river has receded considerably from the town leaving only a sandy waste in the intervening space.

Brindaban possesses some fine temples, relics and associations (some genuine and some spurious) in connection with the Vaishnava cult which deserve our close attention, specially as we are interested in Bengali literature which contains many references to Vaisnavism.

Regarding the topography of the place we should make it clear that the present town of Brindaban is situated in the region called Brajamandal which is about 84 *crores* in circumference. The locality was under the Kings of Mathuramandal, Madhuban or Surasena country as it remains to-day under the District Officer of the District of Mathura. Madhuban became famous in the Ramayana story as the place of Laban Daitya evidently a non-Aryan chief, who was defeated and killed by Rama's youngest brother, Satrugna, whose family henceforth ruled the land for a long time. Most of the buildings of the present town of Brindaban are hardly two hundred and fifty years old and its former name was Fakirabad. Yet the traditions of the place are much older than its present buildings and the town began to grow from the days of Sanatana Goswami who belonged to the middle of the 16th century. Both the towns of Mathura and Brindaban stand on the same bank of the Jamuna and there is nothing to prove that they once occupied opposite banks as some scholars would have us believe. The town of Brindaban is only six miles to the west of the town of Mathura. On the opposite bank of Mathura some four miles to the east lies the locality of Gokula. According to a local tradition

there were two chiefs who lived side by side in Gokula. One of them was Nanda Ghosh (foster father of Sree Krishna) and the other was Brikabhanu (father of Sree Radha). Nanda Ghosh's place was known as Mahaban while Brikabhanu's place was known as Raul where Radha was born. Nanda, after keeping baby Sree Krishna in his custody when stolen from the palace of Kamsa, king of Mathura, found it unsafe to remain within so short a distance from Mathura only the river Jamuna intervening. So, he shifted from Gokula and established himself at a place called after him Nandagram which was about 22 miles from Mathura. Brikabhanu also changed his place and settled within three miles from Nanda's new town. Brikabhanu's new place was known as Barshān. Both Nandagram and Barshān are within Brajamandal and are situated along with Mathura on the right bank of the Jamuna and therefore on the same side. The Dan-ghat (*lit.* Toll-collecting Ghat) associated with Krishna's sports with Radha on a boat, is about 19 miles to the west of the town of Brindaban whilst Mathura stands to its east and in this locality is situated the traditional hillock Gobardhan. Both the Dan-ghat on the Jamuna and the Gobardhan are over twenty-two miles from Mathura town. The whole region of Brajamandal, as we were told, is full of pasture lands, and some parts of it, as seen by us, corroborate this fact.

It is very difficult to reconcile the different theories regarding the topography of Brajamandal and Mathuramandal. Some scholars would say that the river originally flowed between the towns of Brindaban and Mathura and now both occupy the same bank owing to the Jamuna changing its course. Unfortunately there is nothing to substantiate or corroborate it although there are some signs of erosion and slight changes in the course of the river. Some would resent even the very name of Radha as fictitious and of later introduction while our whole Vaisnava lyrical literature depends on her existence not only spiritually but also physically to illustrate "parakiyā" amours of Radha-Krishna. Even admitting that there was a Radha the Bengali Vaisnavas of Brindaban will never agree to her carrying milk-pail to Mathura as she was a princess and her father was supposed to have been more powerful than Nanda. If at all she carried the milk-pail and met Sree Krishna on the Dan-ghat, it was at a place far removed from Mathura which stands on the same side with Barshān and Dan-ghat. If we believe in the topography then selling of milk by the Gopis of Brindaban in the market of the Mathura town cannot stand as a credible

suggestion. Then also falls through the consequent amours of Radha-Krishna on the Jamuna. To meet the situation, the Bengali Vaisnavas of Brindaban would invent a myth,—that it was done supernaturally, and thereby the distance was covered. A parallelism is drawn with the opening and closing of petals of a lotus. The closing of petals means shortening the distance and opening up means its lengthening. All of course was possible due to the divine and sportive nature of Sree Krishna. What comment should we make on this ?

The whole topography of the place as it now stands does not support the amours of Radha and Krishna on the Jamuna unless we place the whole scene in Gokula which, as I have already said, lies to the east of Mathura on the other bank of the Jamuna about four miles off. According to the legend Nanda deserted Mahaban in Gokula and went to live in Nandagram in Braja-land followed by Brikabhānu when Krishna was only a baby. For a mere baby to have taken part in the sports described by Bengali Vaishnava poets is a manifest impossibility. Besides, we know Akrura, the messenger of king Kamsa, invited and took with him Krishna and Balaram from Nandagram and not from Mahaban to Mathura to attend the 'Dhanuryajna' of Kamsa who was ultimately killed by Sree Krishna. At the time Akrura visited Nandagram in Brajamandal Krishna was making love to Radha and other Gopis and performing various feats to astonish his brother cowboys. So the whole scene of the Krishna legend in connection with his love-making to Radha requires to be placed in Brajamandal and not in Gokula, considering the location of the place, unless we take the help of divine dispensation. To account for things, is it reasonable to dismiss all the local identification of places and find out new ones to support the scenes of the Radha-Krishna legend ?

The basis of our own lyrical literature wholly depends on the reality of the amorous sports (*Lila*) of Radha and Krishna by the side of and on the bosom of the river Jamuna. What will be the condition of Dankhanda and Naukakhanda of Sree-Krishna-Kirtan attributed to one Chandidas and the lyrics of other poets if we do not admit their connection with these amours ?

The town of Brindaban, as it stands to-day, owes its origin to the efforts of Sanatana and other Bengali Vaisnava saints known as the Vaisnava Goswamis. How Sanatana built his first temple of Madanmohan with the help of a merchant is a story even now on everybody's lips at Brindaban. After this temple many others

followed, the chief of which are those of Govindaji and Gopinath. Besides these, there are hundreds of other temples. Among them the temple of Sahaji, the temple of Sethji, the temples of Bankubehari, Radha-Damodar, Syamsundar, Radhaballav, Radharaman, Gokulananda, Holkar's temple, Tarash temple, Lala Babu's temple, besides Tarakumar's Asram, Adwaita-bat, Sringar-bat, Tentul-tala, Jamuna Pulin, Kaliya Daman, Brahma Kunda, Nidhuban and Nikunjaban, deserve special notice. Of the above, Madanmohan as we have said was installed by Sanatana Goswami. In this temple many relics of Chaitanya Dev and his followers are found. Unfortunately, the original images of Madanmohan and Radharani are not to be found as they were long ago taken away by the Raja of Karauli. The temple of Gopinath attributed to Madhu Pandit and associated with the family of Nityananda is an important one. The temple of Govindaji, though built by the Raja of Jaipur has Bengali association. It is a remarkably fine specimen of Hindu temple architecture. The temple of Radharaman has associations with Gopal Bhatta Goswami. The temple of Gokulananda possesses the memory of Lokenath. "Sringar-bat" has associations with Nityananda, "Adwaita-bat" of Adwaita and "Tentul-tala" (Tamarind tree shade) of Chaitanya Dev. Under the shade of this latter tree Chaitanya Dev used to sit during his brief visit to Brindaban, meditating about Lord Krishna and the place was once situated overlooking the Jamuna. The temple of Radha-Damodar bears reminiscences of Jib Goswami; the Bankubehari temple of the Nimbarka sect and the Radhaballav temple of the Ballavi sect also deserve mention. The images in the temple built by the Tarash Zemindar family are remarkable for their beauty. It may be mentioned here that almost all the images in various temples are remarkably handsome. The two temples of Sahaji and Sethji and specially that of Sethji may be said to be the grandest in Brindaban. This temple of Sethji is a very fine specimen of Hindu temple-building. Its type is South-Indian and the South-Indian priests prevail there. The temple is attributed to Jagat Seth. Though he was not a South-Indian himself it bears the stamp of that side as his Guru came from that part of India. This temple was built at an enormous cost and maintains a batch of 108 priests. The expenses of the temple are Rs. 365 per diem. We had the fortune to visit the temple during its annual celebration. The whole scene of the Puja and the procession was indeed majestic creating an atmosphere of the old days of Hindu glory. The Gadur Stambha or pillar in the front

courtyard is coated wholly with gold and the people call it erroneously "Sonar Tal-gachh" (golden palm tree). Its height is about twenty-two feet from the base and looks very impressive. Episodes from Hindu mythology have been engraved on the stone walls all around and the images are marvellously executed. The presiding deity of the temple is of course Krishna named Ranganath. The temple of Sahaji has one very special peculiarity. The marble pillars supporting the roof are zigzag in appearance. Nowhere have we seen pillars of this type. These impressed us by the massiveness of their costly stones as well as by the expenses and workmanship entailed in their execution.

A few remarks may now be made as regards the Vaisnava theology and the position of the Bengali Vaisnavas in Brindaban. The Bengali Vaisnavas belong to that group of the Vaisnavas known as the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. The originator of this group was Chaitanya Dev himself. As is well known at first the God Vishnu was worshipped by the Vaisnavas as the very name of the sect indicates. Then the idea of "Avatar" or incarnation came to the foreground and so we get first Rama as a part-incarnation and then Krishna as full incarnation of Vishnu among many of his incarnations, to save the world from the hands of the non-believing sinners. Last of all came Chaitanya Dev whom his followers believe to have been an incarnation of Sree Krishna (not of Vishnu). Apart from the worshippers of Vishnu and Rama those of Sree Krishna and Chaitanya Dev require our close investigation. Among the various qualities of God the two which have attracted the greatest attention of the devotees are the "Aiswaryya," "Guna" and "Madhuryya Rasa." The non-Bengali people of India seem to have been captivated with the former quality of God, while the Bengalis with the latter. Thus we find in the Up-country the Rama cult has more votaries than that of Krishna cult. "Aiswaryya" connotes power and fortune while "Madhuryya" means love. Krishna of course possesses these two qualities in him. The non-Bengalis seem to have more liking for the 'Aiswaryya' quality of Krishna and so they revel in his exploits in Mathura, Dwaraka and in the internecine struggle of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The Bengalis on the other hand are zealous supporters of the "Madhuryya Rasa" and they have shown their leanings to it so much so that that they did not allow any temple of Lakshmi (Goddess of Fortune) at Brindaban when they found the town. As a result a temple of Lakshmi exists only 3 miles off from Brindaban on the other side of the Jamuna, the place being known as Belban where people

flock to worship her on certain days as they do not like to miss her favour in worldly affairs. Even when we consider this Madhuryya quality we find that there are two views in its connection. Some uphold "Swakiya" view and some "Parakiya" and "Madhura Rasa" being the greatest quality of God, according to some Vaisnavas, it cannot be cultivated adequately by a man with his own wife (Swakiya). This love-making should be done with "Parakiya" which involves great risk and sacrifice. Chaitanya Dev held the Parakiya view. The Maddhi sect to which he belonged was originally a South-Indian sect. His connection with this sect as well as his liking for Ramananda of the Deccan with whom he had a famous conversation about the "Madhura Rasa" seem to have some influence over Chaitanya Dev in establishing the "Parakiya" theory among his followers. Henceforth his followers of Bengal were known as the Gaudiya Vaisnavas.

The chief temple of the Bengali Vaisnavas at Brindaban as referred to before is that of Madanmohan. The Bengalis seem to have forgotten Madhabendra Puri who first found the image of Gopal at Brindaban locality and to whose sect (Maddhi) Chaitanya Dev himself belonged. They only remember Chaitanya and his followers. In every Bengali temple the deified image of Chaitanya is to be found while in most cases we shall miss the same in non-Bengali temples. Now as everybody knows among the three centres of the Bengali Vaisnavas—Navadvip, Puri and Brindaban—Navadvip is more associated with the name of Chaitanya Dev though Puri saw him as a living God during the latter part of his life, while Brindaban was only casually visited by him. So, however much importance Chaitanya Dev himself attributed to Brindaban, his followers were satisfied with his personality and did not think much of that place. The importance which the Gaudiya Vaisnavas attaches to the place is more in connection with Chaitanya Dev and his followers, especially the Goswamis, than with the Radha-Krishna legend.

To the idealists of "Parakiya" the introduction of Radha was essential. She was not the wife of Krishna in her earthly relationship and the love-adventures of the two, *viz.*, Radha and Krishna are illustrative of the "Parakiya" theory of the Bengali Vaisnavas. There is one subordinate element—a kind of subcurrent—furnished in the episode of love-making by Chandravali, the chief rival of Radha in connection with Krishna. Krishna would some time visit Radha some time Chandravali, though Radha had his chief attention. Legends

say many things about the two, even of their previous amours in heaven. It is peculiar in the Bengali poetical work Krishna-Kirtan, that this Chandravali has been identified with Radha while no other Bengali work and Bengali convention support this view. At Brindaban no trace of Chandravali has been found, but we find Radha in every temple. "Radharani" is the term which is on the lips of everybody at Brindaban.

To the Vaisnavas of other provinces the injunction of the six Goswamis have little value. Even a sect of the modern Vaisnavas of Bengal have disclaimed the infallibility of the Goswamis. They are the present "Gaudiya Math" people of Bengal. They are now trying to have a stable footing at Brindaban in spite of the somewhat unfriendly attitude of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. The extreme wing of the Parakiya preachers are the Sahajiyas. I scented a considerable number of them at this place but have not been able to know much of them for obvious difficulties.

Regarded as a centre of Vaisnava culture and learning the place is not very progressive. However, the Bhakti-Vidyalyaya founded under the auspices of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas is doing some good to the Vaisnava public. But its shortness of funds and lack of public sympathy made us have misgivings regarding its future. The school is run mainly through the energetic efforts of Sreejut Kaminikumar Ghosh and his worthy son Dr. Gaurapada Ghosh (both residents of Brindaban) who deserve our unstinted praise. We visited this school and found to our satisfaction that the authorities have opened already two departments, one for Vyākaran (Grammar) and another for Darsan (Philosophy). Of course both are taught on Vaisnava lines. The Harinamamrita Vyākaran and Hari-Bhakti-Bilas are the two books of this school read by pupils. We attended one Kirtan party organised at the house of Sreejuts Nitai Das and Brindaban Das. Nitai Das is ably editing the Chaitanya Charitamrita of Krishna Das Kaviraj which he showed to us. We could not visit very many parties of Kirtan at the place and so are hardly competent to give any opinion about them.

In every speaker at Brindaban we found great enthusiasm in explaining the sectarian dogmas to strangers, often embellished by supernatural elements. In these stories wonderful dreams figured most though even trees talked. Be that as it may, my tour with the students to Brindaban was fruitful in many ways. Before coming to this place our ideas about its topography in its bearing on the legend of Krishna

were rather hazy. Besides, the references in our own literature made us compare them by a visit to the place for clearing certain problems from our first-hand knowledge. In more sense than one our visit to the place was a success and for this we are grateful to our present Vice-Chancellor. Yet we had our disappointments too. People who come to Brindaban to see holy places visit the whole of Brajamandal. In the open fields they have to live in tents and shift from place to place. But it requires time and money, of both of which we had very little. Under the circumstances we had perforce to remain satisfied by visiting the main temples of the town of Brindaban and leaving the Arcadian country of Braja associated with the hallowed name of Radha-Krishna for a future batch to visit.

We went to Mathura on a flying visit on Wednesday, the 21st October only for a day. What we saw there did not impress us much. We could visit only a few important temples and *ghats*. The *ghats* are Mathura's speciality. Unlike Brindaban the town of Mathura faces the river Jamuna and the whole length of it is studded with fine *ghats*. Here also the Jamuna is full of islets and the railway bridge is doing much harm to it. Among the temples visited by us were those of Dwarkanath, Kubjanath, Kamsamardan, Kalbhairab, Dhruba, Bali and Saptarsi and among the *ghats*, those of Bisram Ghat and Dhruba Ghat. At Bisram Ghat we witnessed that very interesting ceremony the "arati" of the Jamuna. For want of time some of us could not visit Bhuteswar Mahadev* and Radha Kund (22 miles from Mathura). Near the latter, Krishnadas Kaviraj wrote his immortal Chaitanya Charitamrita. The Dan-ghat is also situated as we have said before, in this locality. The chief temple with some air of grandeur is that of Dwarkanath. The other temples are but poor specimens of Hindu architecture. We regret we could not study carefully the specimens at the Mathura Municipal Museum. The Gaudiya theology has failed to strike any deep root at Mathura. The Gaudiya Vaishnavas have very little hold on the people of the town, and as a matter of fact, the Bengali population at Mathura is very small. Chaitanya Dev and his followers seem to have made no impression at this place. Even the cult of Krishna has very

* Perhaps very few people are now aware that Brindaban was an important holy place of the Sakti cult. According to tradition—of the 51 parts of the body of dead Sati (Durga) consort of Shiv one part fell here. It was her hair.

The Sakti goddess here is Uma and Bhairab (Siva) is known as Bhutesh. This shows that the Sakti cult prevailed here before the introduction of Vaishnavism.

little "Madhura Rasa" in it, as Krishna in "Aiswaryya" is being shown all over the town. Thus in place of Radha, Kubja and Rukmini figure prominently, and in two places, *viz.*, Kubjanath and Dhruba tilā Vishnu with four arms with Sankha, Chakra, Gadā and Pādma figures and not Krishna with his flute. From what I have seen in Brindaban-Mathura locality may I surmise that after the demise of Chaitanya Dev at Puri, the Goswamis found it hard to hold ground in favour of their own theology and so being disappointed sent back their valuable literary productions to Bengal—their own land—for preservation? They were not far wrong in their apprehensions as we can guess from the present condition of Brindaban.

▲ We would have been glad to secure some old Vaishnava manuscripts but unfortunately could secure none. We heard valuable Vaishnava manuscripts may be found in the temple of Radha-Damodar (place of Jiv Goswami) which is now in the hands of a Receiver. So they are difficult to procure but we hope our University will try some day to possess them for the benefit of Vaishnava scholars of Bengal.

In this connection I would like to point out that doubts may lurk in the minds of some regarding the utility of sending students of this Department outside Bengal and not confine their educational activities within the bounds of this province. The condition of Bengali language and literature does not warrant such doubts. Such excursions outside Bengal besides broadening the outlook help in the proper understanding of many references and allusions that our literature contains. Of course attention should more be confined to places and regions within Bengal for this purpose.



THE MAHĀRAṢṬRA PURĀṆA

BY
TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

*[Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of
Letters, Vol. XX]*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1930

THE MAHĀRĀṢṬRA-PURĀṆA

By

TAMONASH CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

FIRST CANTO.

Translation.

Worldly men do not take pleasure in the contemplation
of Rādhā and Krishna but indulge in
sordid pastime with women not bound
in wedlock plunging themselves in perpetual debauchery
with them. They do not know that some unexpected
calamity which they rightly deserve, may befall them
at any moment. They always think ill of and scandalise
others, and are incapable of thinking of anything noble.
The mother Earth not being able to endure the burden
of these unholy deeds felt distressed and went to
the great god Brahmā, explained to him the object of
her visit, and said :—

মহারাষ্ট্র-পুরাণ

প্রথম কাণ্ড

শ্রীশ্রীকৃষ্ণ

রাধাকৃষ্ণ নাহি ভজে পাপমতি হইএগ।

রাত্রদিন কুড়া^২ করে পরস্ত্রী লইএগ ॥

¹ There is no writing on the obverse of this folio.

² কুড়া = কীড়া ।

“This burden has become too much for me to bear any longer, due, as I have explained, to sins committed by wicked men. How long am I to suffer this?”

Brahmā replied :—

“Don’t get anxious. Be composed.” He then led her to the great ascetic god Siva and offered him the following prayer :—

“O Siva, you are the great Creator, the great Destroyer, as well as the great Sustainer of the Universe. Everything we see around in this phenomenal world, whether moving or static, are but the manifestations of thyself and you are also the Noumenon. You are the Father, the Mother, and the only Friend. This Earth is your creation.”

শ্রীদ্বার^১ কোতুকে জিব থাকে সর্বক্ষণ ।
 হেন নাহি জানে সেই কি হবে কখন ॥
 পরহিংসা পরনিন্দা করে রাত্র দিনে ।
 এই সকল কথা বিনে অন্ত নাহি মনে ॥
 এত জদি পাপ হইল পৃথিবী উপরে ।
 পাপের কারণে পৃথি ভার সহিতে নারে ॥
 তবে পৃথি চলি গেলা ব্রহ্মার গোচর ।
 কহিতে লাগীলা পৃথি ব্রহ্মা বরাবর ॥
 পাপের কারণে প্রভু পৃথি হইল ভারি ।
 কত ব্যাম পাব আমি ভার সহিতে নারি ॥
 এতেক শুনিলে ব্রহ্মা বোলিছে বচন ।
 ব্যাকুল না হইয় তুমি ধৰ্ম্য কর মন ॥
 পৃথী সঙ্গে করি ব্রহ্মা গেলা শীঘ্র স্থানে ।
 কহিতে লাগিলা ব্রহ্মা স্তুতি বচনে ॥

^১ শ্রীদ্বার = শৃঙ্গার ।

After Brahmā had ceased to speak, the great god replied with a smile :—

“Why are you praising me thus? Explain your reason.”

Brahmā also smiled and said :—

“The Earth cannot bear the burden of sin any longer. All the living beings are addicted to sin. So, do please destroy the sinners and lighten the burden of the Earth.”

Siva consenting said :—

“All right. I shall do so by sending a messenger to the Earth on this errand.”

Brahmā now returned to his abode accompanied by the mother Earth who soon after took leave of the former and returned to her place in a thoughtful mood. When the Earth and Brahmā had gone, Siva was absorbed

তুমি কর্তা তুমি হর্তা তুমি নারায়ণ ।
 স্বাবর জন্ম তুমি তুমি নিরঞ্জন ॥
 তুমি মাতা তুমি পিতা তুমি বন্ধুজন ।
 এ মহিমগুল প্রভু তোমার শ্রিজন ^১ ॥
 এতেক বিনয় কৈলা ব্রহ্মাবর ।
 হাসিয়া তাহারে তবে বলিলা সঙ্কর ॥
 এতেক মিনতি কর কিসের কারণ ।
 বোল দেখি শুনি আমি তাহার বিবরণ ॥
 তবে ব্রহ্মা বলিলেন হাসি ত্রিলোচনে ।
 পৃথী ভার সহিতে নারে পাপের কারণে ॥
 পাপমতি হইল জিব করে ছুরাচার ।
 পাপীষ্ট মারিআ প্রভু ছর কর ভার ॥
 কহিতে লাগিলা হর এতেক শুনিঞা ।
 পাপিষ্ট মারিছি ছুত পাঠাইঞা ॥

^১ শ্রিজন = স্বজন ।

again in his wonted meditation. It was only sometime after, that he remembered his promise to Brahmā. To Nandi (his attendant) he said :—

“O Nandi, immediately start for the South-town where there is a king on Earth named Sāhu. Go and enter his body. The Earth is overburdened with sin. Send out the messengers of Death so that the sinners may die.” Nandi hastily left for the court of Sāhurāja at the behest of his Lord, entered the rājā's person, and immediately under the influence of Nandi, Sāhurāja began to address Raghurāja (Raghuji Bhonslā) as follows :—

এতেক বলিলা যদি ব্রহ্মার গোচর ।
পৃথ্বী সঙ্গে ব্রহ্মা তবে গেলা আপন ঘর ॥
তবে ব্রহ্মা বিদাএ করিলা পৃথ্বীরে ।
ভাবিতে ভাবিতে পৃথ্বী আইলা যাপন ঘরে ॥
ব্রহ্মাকে বিদাএ দিয়া শীঘ্র রইলা ধ্যানে ।
কথোক্ষণ পরে সেই কথা পইল মনে ॥
নন্দীকে ডাকিয়া শিব বলিছে বচন ।
দক্ষিণ সহরে তুমি জাহ ততক্ষণ ॥
সাহুরাজা নামে এক আছে পৃথিবিতে ।
অধিষ্ঠান হয় ^১ জাইয়া তার দেহেতে ॥
বিপরিত পাপ হইল পৃথ্বীবি উপরে ।
দুত পাঠাইএগা জেন পাপি লোক মারে ॥
এতেক শুনিএগা নন্দী গেলা সিংগতি ।
উপনিত হইলা গিয়া সাহুরাজা প্রতি ॥
সাহুরাজা বোলে তবে রঘুরাজার তরে ।
অনেক দিন হইল বাঙ্গালার চৌত না দেএ মোরে ॥

“ I have not got any ‘chouth’ from Bengal for a long time. So do please send a messenger to the (Moghul) Emperor to enquire why he does not send me that. Write a letter to the Emperor on this subject and promptly despatch a messenger to him with it.” Raghurāja accordingly wrote a very brief letter and handed it over to the messenger who kept it within his head-dress. This man started for Delhi the next morning, without delay, and duly delivered the letter to the Emperor. On receipt of this letter His Majesty commanded his Vizier to read it out for him at once. The Emperor learnt that the letter was about the ‘chouth’ of Bengal. His Majesty ordered his Vizier to write in reply that his representative in the province who ruled the land had grown refractory and ceased to pay him the revenue and that the Emperor had not a sufficient army at the moment to compel the rebel Nawab to submit to the orders of the Imperial Court. The Emperor added that as his own resources were not enough, he would suggest that the Mahratta chief might send an army to Bengal and realise the ‘chouth’ himself. When the letter of the Emperor containing this reply was delivered to the messenger, he received it with respectful obeisance and hurried on to Sātārā, the capital of Sāhurāja.

দুত পাঠাইয়া দেয়^১ বাদসার স্থানে ।
বান্দালার চৌথাই না দেএ কীসের কারণে ॥
একখানি পত্র লিখ বাদসা প্রতি ।
দুত জেন তাহা লইয়া জ্ঞাএ সিংগতি ॥
রঘুরাজা পত্র লিখে আখর পাচ সাতে ।
পত্র লইএগা দুত তবে বাধিলেন মাথে ॥

^১ দেয়=দেও, দেহ ।

Sāhu was sitting in his Durbar when the messenger arrived with the reply from the Emperor. This man respectfully delivered the letter to Sāhurāja and stood on one side with folded palms. Sāhu ordered his Dewan to read it aloud. The latter read out the following contents accordingly :—

“The Nawab of Bengal has grown disobedient and does not remit any revenue to the Emperor of Delhi for

রজনী প্রভাতে দূত জাএ সিগ্রগতি ।
 পত্র আসি দিলেন জেখানেে দিল্লিপতি ॥
 উজিরকে যাজ্ঞা তবে দিলা দিল্লিশ্বরে ।
 সিগ্রগতি পত্র পড়ি শুনায় ' আমারে ॥
 উজির পড়েন পত্র বাদসা সুনেন ।
 সাহুরাজা লিখে বাঙ্গালার চৌথের কারণ ॥
 বাদসা তবে আজ্ঞা দিলা উজিরেরে ।
 পত্র লিখহ তুমি সাহু রাজারে ॥
 চাকর হইয়া মারিলে স্তবारे ।
 জবর হইল লালবন্দি না দেয় মোরে ॥
 লোক লঙ্কর তবে নাই আমার স্থানে ।
 হেন কোন জন নাই তারে গিয়া আনে ॥
 বাঙ্গালা মুলুক সেই ভুঞ্জে পরম স্থখে ।
 দুই বৎসর হইল লালবন্দি না দেএ মোকে ॥
 জবর হইএগা সেই আছে বাঙ্গালাতে ।
 চৌথের কারণে লোক পাঠায় তথাতে ॥
 এতেক বচন পত্রে লিখীলা উজির ।
 পত্র পাইএগা দূত তবে নোএগাইল সির ॥
 দূত তবে বিদাএ হইলা তরিতে ।
 সিগ্রগতি যাসি পহুছিল সেতারাতে ॥

the last two years. The Emperor, therefore, permits Sāhurāja to send an adequate army for quelling the revolt in Bengal and to collect the 'chouth,' from the Province."

On this information the rājā exclaimed, "Whom shall I send to Bengal?" Raghurāja was sitting near by. He thus replied smiling :—"If your Majesty permit, I shall go to Bengal myself. I shall easily realise the 'chouth' of the Province by force." Upon this Sāhu commanded him to do so.

Raghurāja at first sent his Dewan Bhāskaban(?) to Bengal with instruction to exact the 'chouth' on his master's behalf with all possible promptness. At the behest of Raghurāja, Bhāskar marched towards Bengal with an army. There was war-music consisting of many kinds of drums, and hundreds of flags which accompanied the army. Leaving

Second fol., reverse.

সভা করিএগ রাজা বইসা আছে ছানে ।

হেন কালে পত্র ছুত আনে সেই খানে ।

পত্র আসি দিলা ছুত রাজার গোচর ।

ডাড়াইলা একভিতে করি ছোড়কর ।

আজ্ঞা দিলা দেওয়ানকে পত্র পড়িবারে ।

পত্র পড়িয়া দেওয়ান সুনান রাজারে ॥

জবর হইল সুবা বাদশালা সহরে ।

দুই বৎসর হইল খাজনা না দেএ তারে ॥

আজ্ঞা দিলা বাদসা ফৌজ পাঠাইএগ ।

চোখাই নেএন জেন জবর করিএগ ॥

এতেক সুনিএগ রাজা লাগিলা কহিতে ।

কোন জনাকে পাঠাব মূলুক বাদশালাতে ॥

রঘুরাজা নিকটে আছিল বসিআ ।

কহিতে লাগিলা তিনি হাসিয়া হাসিয়া ॥

Sātārā the Mahratta army reached Bijāpur. Here they halted for the night. There were dancing and amusement in the camp and in the morning the whole army was again on the move. It passed many villages and orchards and thus reached Nāgpur. From thence it reached Panchakot by a rapid march. Calling a spy before him Bhāskar enquired as to the whereabouts of the Nawab of Bengal. Upon this the man hurriedly left the camp to secure all necessary information. On enquiry he came to know that the Nawab was then residing at a place called "Raneer-dighir-Par" (the bank of Raneer's reservoir) in the town of Burdwan. When this news was conveyed to Bhāskar he at once marched towards the place during the night to make a surprise attack.

আজ্ঞা কর বাঙ্গাল মূলুকে আমি জাই ।
 জ্বর করিয়া তথা আনিব চৌথাই ॥
 তবে তারে আজ্ঞা দিলেন রাজন ।
 তিনি পাঠাইলেন দেওয়ান ভাস্কর(৭) ॥
 রঘু তবে আজ্ঞা দিলা ভাস্করে ।
 তৎপর করিয়া চৌথাই আনি দিবা মোরে ॥

রাজার আদেশ পাইয়া ভাস্কর চলিল ধাইয়া
 সন্ধ্য সন্ধ্য করিয়া সাজন ।
 ডঙ্কা নাগারা কত নিসান চলে সত সত
 সন্ধ্য মধ্যে বাজিছে বাজন ॥
 সেতারা ছাড়িয়া তবে বিজাপুর আইলা তবে
 এক রাত্রি রইলা সেইখানে ।
 রাগরত্ন হইল জত নাটুয়া নাচিল কত
 কটক চলিল পর দিনে ॥

The troops advanced silently and stealthily, and reached Burdwan on the 19th of Baisakh (B.S.). The Bargis (the Mahratta light-armed horsemen) advanced with much glee. They left Birbhui to the left and eventually surrounded Burdwan by the way of Goālābhui. The Harkarās (sentinels as well as secret agents) of the town were surprised by the enemy. They sent information of the situation to one Rājārām, their chief, who in turn communicated the whole affair to the Nawab which was to the effect that eluding the vigilance of Rājārām a Mahratta army has suddenly surrounded the Nawab. At this the Nawab commanded him to send Harkarās for further information about the enemy. These spies contrived to secure the required news from the enemy's camp by

গ্রাম উপবন কত	লঙ্কর এড়াএ জত
নাগপুর আসি উপনিত ।	
সেখান ছাড়িয়া জবে	লঙ্কর যাইলা তবে
পঞ্চকোটে আসিলা তরিত ॥	
ডাক দিয়া ছতকে	ভাস্কর কহিল তাকে
নবাব আছে কোন খানে ।	
আজ্ঞা দিলা সেনাপতি	ছত চলে সিগ্রগতি
নবাব আছে জেই খানে ॥	
ছত সম্বাদ লইয়া	সিগ্র চলিল ধাইয়া
আসিয়া কহিল তার স্থানে ।	
বর্দ্ধমান সহরে	রাণির দিঘির পারে
নবাব আছে সেইখানে ॥	
ছত মুখে শুনি কথা	ভাস্কর চলিল তথা
লঙ্কর লইয়া নিশাতে ।	
লঙ্কর নিসন্দে জাএ	কেহ নাহি জানে তাএ
আইলা বৈসাখ উনিশাতে ॥	

mixing up with the enemy as Mahratta soldiers. Their information was as follows:—There were one Sirdar (commander-in-chief), twenty-four Jemadars (Divisional commanders), and forty thousand troops in the Mahratta army. They came from the fort of Sātārā being sent by Sāhurāja for collecting the ‘chouth’ from the Province of the Nawab of Bengal. On hearing this, the Nawab sent for his own Jemadars and addressed them as follows:—

“The Bargis have come from Sātārā to my territory for exacting the ‘chouth.’ What do you say to this? So long the practice was that the revenues of Bengal would go first to the Emperor at Delhi from *whom* the Bargis were entitled to realise the ‘chouth.’ This was the practice during the late Nawabship of Sujā Khān.”

বৈশাখের উনিশা জাএ বরগি আইলা তাএ
মহা যানন্দিত হইয়া মনে ।
বিরভুই বামে ধুইয়া গোআলা ভুইর কাছ হইয়া
আসিয়া ঘেরিল বর্দ্ধমানে ॥
তবে বরগীর লঙ্করে চতুর্দিকে আসি ঘিরে
হরকারা কেহ নাহি জানে ।
দুই প্রহর রাইতে হরকারা আইলা তাথে
আসী কৈল রাজারাম স্থানে ॥
রজনী প্রভাত হইল রাজারাম হরকারা আইল
আসিয়া কহিল নবাবেরে ।
ইহা আমি না জানিল আচম্বিতে সন্ধ্য আইল
আসিয়া ঘেরিল লঙ্করে ॥
রাজারামে এত কএ নবাব স্থনিয়া রএ
তদপরে দিলেন উত্তর ।
হরকারা পাঠাইয়া হকিকত আন জায়া
কোথা হইতে যাইল লঙ্কর ॥

A Jemadar named Mustāfā Khān said in reply :—

“Your Excellency may take such action as may be considered prudent.”

Upon this the Nawab commanded his Vakeel or Agent to go to the leader of the Bargis for enquiry as to why his army had laid siege to the Nawab's territory.

On being enquired into by the Nawab's Agent the Mahratta General replied as follows :—

এতেক স্থানল জবে হরকারা পাঠাইল তবে
ফৌজর নির্ণয় জানিবারে ।

সাজিঞা হরকরা লস্করে ফিরে তারা
আসিয়া কহিল নবাবেরে ॥

চব্বিশ জমাদার ভাস্কর সরদার
চলিশ হাজার ফৌজ লইঞা ।

সেতারা গড় হইতে বরগী আইল চৌথ নিতে
সাহরাজার ছকুম পাইঞা ॥

এতেক কথা স্থনিয়া জমাদার আনে ডাক দিয়া
কহিতে লাগিলা নবাব ।

সেতারা গড় হইতে বরগী আইলা চৌথ নিতে
ইহা কি বোলহ জবাব ॥

বাদশাই খাজনা জাইত শেখানে চৌধাই পাইত
সুজা খা আছিল জখন ।

মুস্তাফা খাঁ এত কএ জাহা তোমার চিন্তে লএ
তাহা তুমি করহ এখন ॥

উকীলকে কহিল সন্ম সাইজা কেন আইল
এই কথা বল জাইয়া তারে ।

উকীল কহেন কথা ভাস্কর স্থনেন তথা
তবেত কহিল তারপরে ॥

“Sāhurāja has sent me for the purpose of realising the ‘chouth’ from Bengal. You return immediately to your master, the Nawab, and inform him about my mission.”

The Agent.—“You do not speak well. It is not proper that the Mahrattas should come into Bengal for such a purpose.”

Bhāskar.—“You should consider seriously who really does the wrong. Who is it by whose orders your master has usurped the Province and withheld its revenue from the rightful owner?”

The Agent.—“The whole trouble originated with the Emperor, who does not know how to realise the ‘chouth.’ To settle the matter a representative of the Nawab saw him. The condition of our side was plainly this : The Emperor was to grant a ‘Sanad’ to the Nawab (Aliverdy Khan), while the

Third fol., obverse.

সাহরাজা পাঠাএ মোরে চৌথাই নিবার তরে
 তে কারণে আইলাম আমি ।
 জাইয়া বোল নবাবেরে চৌথ যেন দেএ মোরে
 সিংগতি চলি জাহ তুমি ॥
 এতেক শুনিয়া জবে উকীল কহিল তবে
 অন্নাএ কথা কেনে বোল ।
 কোন কালে বাদলাতে বরগী আসে চৌথ নিতে
 এই ত অন্নায় বড় হইল ॥
 ভাস্কর বুলিল তারে কেবা যন্নাএ করে
 মনেতে কৈলে ভাবনা ।
 কাহার হুকুম পাইয়া মুলুক নিলা মারিয়া
 বাদসাই খাজনা ভেজ না ॥

latter was to send him the 'chouth' of Bengal in return. If this condition is yet fulfilled, the revenue of Bengal will be sent to Delhi and you will have to receive your 'chouth' from there."

Bhāskar.—"I am commanded by the Emperor of Delhi to collect the 'chouth' from Bengal directly. If you do not abide by His Majesty's wishes I shall have to fight you and your master will no doubt lose the Province."

The Agent.—"Why do you threaten my master? What your army (which has surrounded our town) can do? Many a time and oft we encountered such an army as yours. They have never been a match for the army of the

শুনিয়া উত্তর দিলা চৌথ নিতে না জানিলা

উকীল পাঠাইতা তার কাছে ।

উকীল জাইয়া পরে কহিতে নবাব তরে

চৌথাই দিতেন তিনি পাছে ॥

আপন কটক লইয়া পুন জায় কিরিয়া

কহ তবে বাদসার স্থানে ।

সনদ জদি দেএ খাজনা তবে জাএ

চৌথাই পাবে সেইখানে ॥

ভাস্কর তবে কএ বাদসার হুকুম হএ

চৌথ নিবার কারণ ।

চৌথাই না দিবে জবে রায্য নষ্ট হবে তবে

তার সনে করিব আমি রণ ॥

এতেক বচন শ্রুনি উকিল কহেন বানি

ভদ্র তুমি কিসে দেখায় তারে ।

তোমার জতেক সেনা চতুদিগে দিল থানা

তারা সব কী করিতে পারে ॥

Nawab, who has achieved the fame of being invincible in the war."

Bhāskar listened to this speech and thus finally declared :—

"If you fail to give us the 'chouth,' we shall certainly make war on your master. Do communicate our object to your master."

Upon this, the Agent returned to the Nawab, and informed him of the intentions of Bhāskar to make war on him.

On hearing this the Nawab called all his Jemadars to his presence and informed them that the Mahratta chief repeatedly demanded the 'chouth' from him. Upon this all these men replied,—better the money should be bestowed on the Nawab's sepoy than to be spent it as subsidy to the Mahratta Camp. They further said,—“We are prepared

তুমি যেমন একজন। এমন আইসে সহস্রজন।
 তবু তার ভুরুক্ষেপ নাই ।
 চৌধুটা মূল্যকে সবাই জানএ তাকে
 নবাবের সমান কে আছে সিপাই ॥
 উকীল বুলিলা জবে ভাস্কর জানিলা তবে
 কহিতে লাগিলা তার পরে ।
 চৌথাই না দিবে জবে যুদ্ধ করিব তবে
 এইকথা বোল জাইয়া তারে ॥
 উকীল আসিঞা পরে কহিল নবাবে তবে
 ডাক দিয়া জমাদারে কহে ॥
 জত জমাদার ছিল তারে নবাব কহিল
 চৌথাই চাহে বারে বারে ।
 জতেক সরদার ছিল তারা সব কহিল
 সেই টাকা দেহ সিপাএরে ॥

to make war and are pretty sure that we shall annihilate the Bargis, so that these people may not come to Bengal any more. We again declare, we shall surely put to death all the Bargis and free our country of their raids. Bhāskar will never be able to prevent this disaster on his army." This spirited speech of the army leaders instilled courage into the heart of the Nawab who cheered his men by repeatedly uttering "Bravo, bravo." The (golden) betel box was there and the Nawab distributed betels to his commanders as a sign of approval of their conduct and eventually took leave of them.

Here, in the camp of Sardar Bhāskar, the general mustered together all his Jemadars and addressed them as follows :—

আমরা জত লোক	মারিব বর্গীকে
দেশে জেন আইন্তে নাই পারে ।	
বরগি সব মারিব	দেশে আইন্তে না দিব
কি করিতে পারে ভাস্করে ॥	
সুনিয়া এতেক বানি	সমুখ হইলা তিনি
কহিতে লাগিলা ভাল ভাল ।	
পানবাটা কাছে ছিল	পান তুইলা সভারে দিল
বিদাএ হইয়া সভে আইল ॥	
এথা ভাস্কর সরদারে	ডাক দেএ জমাদারে
কহিতে লাগিলা তা সভারে ।	
তোমরা কত জনা	চতুদিগে দেয় থানা
কতজন জায় লুটিবারে ॥	
সরদারে কহে এত	সাজে জমাদার যত
চতুদিগে জাএ লুটিবারে ।	
সাজিল জত জন	শুন তার বিবরণ
একে একে নাম বলি তার ॥	

“How many of you have surrounded the town and how many of you have gone out for pillage.” This query made many Jemadars get ready for going out to devastate the surrounding locality. The following are the names of those Bargis who went out for the above purpose. They were, Dhāmdhwamā, Hirāman Kāsi, Gangāji Ambhā, Simanta Yosi, Bālāji, Sevāji Kohadā, Sambhuji, Kesaji Āmoda, Kesari Singh and Mohan Singh. The last two were cobblers by caste as well as army leaders by profession and with all of them accompanied five thousand horse. These ten men went out for pillaging the villages while fourteen other men remained in the camp surrounding the town. They were Bālā Rao, Sesa Rao,¹ Sis Pandit,² Semanta Sehadā,

ধামধ্বমা জাএ আর হিরামন কাসি ।
 গঙ্গাজি আস্তা জাএ আর সিমন্ত জোসি ॥
 বালাজি জাএ আর সেবাজি কোহড়া ।
 সমন্তুজি জাএ আর কেসজি আমোড়া ॥
 কেসরি সিংহ মহন সিংহ এ দুই চামার ।
 জার সঙ্গে জাএ ঘোড়া পাচ হার ॥
 এই দশ জনা জাএ গ্রাম লুটিতে ।
 আর চৌদ্দ জনা থাকে নবাবের চাইর ভিতে ॥
 বালারাও সেসরাও আর সিস পণ্ডিত ।
 সেমন্ত সেহড়া আর হিরামন মণ্ডিত ॥

¹ This army leader has been mentioned by the author of the *Seir Mutakherin*, Vol. I, p. 394. Thus :—

“The conspirators had already applied to the Mahratta general and had obtained from him an officer of consequence named Siss Rao, with a body of troops, that had concealed themselves close to Hoogly.”

² Pandit Arsis in Prof. Samaddar's translation.

Hiraman Mandit, Mohan Rai, Pita Rai, Siso Pandit, (these men having valiant Bargis under them), Nirāji,¹ Sāmāji,² Firanga Rai (the Bargis under them hastened up to loot the country), Adi— (other letters indistinct), Sultān Khān, and Bhāskar. One by one no less than seven days passed by. In the meantime the Bargis managed to cut off all food supplies of the garrison. The grocers and the banias could not come out of the town for purchasing purposes as the besiegers recklessly looted and killed everybody whom they could lay their hands upon. In apprehension of the Bargis none could stir out. The Bargis besieged the town on all sides and so the procuring of food supplies became impossible. In the town rice, pulses, split peas, oil, ghee (clarified butter), ātā (flour), sugar and salt—all began to sell at one rupee per seer.

Third fol., reverse.

মোহন রাত্র পিত রাত্র আর সিসো পণ্ডিত ।
জার সঙ্গে আছে বরগি মহা বিপরীত ॥
নিরাজী সামাজি আর ফিরঙ্গ রাত্র ।
লুটিতে জাহার সঙ্গে বরগি দ্রিত ধাএ ॥
আদি * * * সুলতান থা আর ভাস্কর ।
এই চৌদ্দ জনাতে ঘেরিল লস্কর ॥
একদিন দুইদিন করি সাতদিন হইল ।
চতুদিকে বরগীতে রসদ বন্ধ কৈল ॥
মুদি বানিঞা জত বারাইতে নারে ।
লুটে কাটে মারছে মুতে পাএ জারে ॥
বরগীর তরাসে কেহ বাহির না হএ ।
চতুর্দিকে বরগির তরে রসদ না মিলএ ॥

¹ Sivaji in Prof. Samaddar's translation.

² Sambhaji in Prof. Samaddar's translation.

Even kitchen vegetables became scarce and as a result all the poor people and beggars began to die of starvation. The gānjā, bhāṅg and tobacco also could not be bought. For want of kitchen vegetables the people were at a loss to account for what they should live on. They were obliged to depend upon the 'pith' of the banana plant which were brought by the people for this purpose. These were boiled before being eaten by the townsmen. All kinds of people whether

চাউল কলাই মটর মুষরি খেসারি ।
 তেল ঘি আটা চিনি লবন এক সের করি ॥
 টাকা সের হইল আনাঙ্গ কিস্তে নাহি পাএ ।
 খুস্ত কাঙ্গাল জত মইরা মইরা জাএ ॥
 গাজা ভাংগ তামুক না পাএ কিনিতে ।
 আনাঙ্গ নাহি পাওয়া যাএ লাগিল ভাবিতে ॥
 কলার আইঠা জত আনিল তুলিয়া ।
 তাহা আনি সব লোকে খায় সিজাইয়া ।
 ছোট বড় লস্করে যত লোক ছিল ।
 কলার আইঠা সিদ্ধ সব লোকে খাইল ॥
 বিসম বিপত্য বড় বিপরিত হইল ।
 অন্তপরে কা কথা নবাব সাহেব খাইল ॥
 এই মতে লস্কর আছিল চৌদ্দ রোজ ।
 তবে নবাব কুচ কৈলা লইয়া সব ফৌজ ॥
 ঘোড়ার উপরে কত নিশান চলিল ।
 তবে ডঙ্কা নাগারা কত বাজিতে লাগিল ॥
 ঝাকুড় ঝাকুড় কত সাদিয়ানা বাজাএ ।
 মাহিসরা(?)^২ তবে নবাবের আগে জাএ ॥

¹ Roots of plantain—Samaddar.

² Not intelligible. 'মাহিসরা' in place of 'মাহিসরা' is found in the printed Sahitya-Parishad edition.

high or low, ate them. Even the Nawab himself was no exception to this, so great were the sufferings in the town. In this horrible condition the troops of the Nawab waited for fourteen days. At last the Nawab was compelled to fight the Bargis. Flags were carried on the horses. Many drums of various sizes were being played on. The drummers accompanying the cavalry began to beat their drums very loudly creating a great uproar. The syces¹ preceded the Nawab in the march.

চাইদিগে লঙ্কর চলে নাই লেখা জোখা ।
 হেনকালে চতুর্দিকে বরগী দিল দেখা ॥
 চাইর দিগে বরগী আইল কত আর ।
 তা সবার হাতে দেখি লাহাঙ্গা² তলোয়ার ॥
 তখন নবাবের লঙ্করে পাইল হড়বড় ।
 হেন বেলা তেরহইনাতে ধরিলা ডেহড়³ ॥
 হাজারে হাজারে ঘোড়া উঠাএ একিবারে ।
 হারা হারা⁴ কইরা আইসে কাছাইতে নারে ॥
 তবে মুস্তাফা খাঁ চাইর হার ঘোড়া লইয়া ।
 বরগি খেদাইয়া জাএ ডেহড় মারিয়া ॥
 তবে সামনে হইতে বরগী পলাইল ।
 আর কত বরগি আইলা পিছাড়ি ঘেরিল ॥
 মির হবিব তবে পিছাড়িতে ছিল ।
 বেকাবুতে পইড়া সেহ মিসাইল ॥

¹ See footnote 2 in p. 18.

² লাহাঙ্গা = लालाङ्गा (naked, open from the scabbard).

³ তেরহইনা seems to be a place and ডেহড় possibly hurried march in fear.

⁴ 'Hara', a name of the great god Siva, was the war-cry of the Mahrattas like those of the Rajputs.

The troops advanced from all sides and their number was great. When suddenly the Bargis too appeared on all sides they drew their swords from their scabbards and charged the Nawab's troops. Thousands of Bargi cavalry attacked the Nawab's troops furiously. Upon this the Nawab's army got afraid and confusion occurred among them. They incessantly advanced in good speed from Terahainā when thousands of Bargi troopers proceeded to meet them in vain shouting 'Hara, Hara.' But one officer of the Nawab named Mustāfā Khān¹ with his valiant cavalry composed of four squadrons drove back the Bargis with great impetuosity. Thus the frontal attack of the Bargis having failed some of them surrounded the Nawab's army from rear. Meer Habib,² an officer of the Nawab who was in command of the Rear-guard foolishly gave way, deserted his master's side and joined the Bargis. Thus having no obstruction before them the Bargis began freely to pillage what they found in front of them. The Bargi troopers burnt all the tents and quarters of the Nawab and plundered all the treasure-carts that

পিছাড়ি লুটিল বরগি যাসি আর কত ।
 পোড়াইল ডেরাডাণ্ডা তাম্বু যত ॥
 খাজনার গাড়ি জত সাতে ছিল ।
 চাইর দিগে বরগি আইসা লুটিতে লাগিল ॥
 হাতি ঘোড়া কত লুইটা লইয়া জ্ঞাএ ।
 বড় বড় সিপাই জত অমনি পলাএ ॥
 দউড়া দউড়ি আইলা তবে নিকুল সরাএ ।
 মোসাহেবখাঁ তবে পড়িল ঘেরাএ ॥

¹ For Mustāfā Khān see Introduction.

² For Meer Habib see Introduction.

were kept in the rear of the Nawab's army. They also looted many elephants and horses, while all the valiant sepoy of the Nawab fled away instantly. In this confusion Mosāheb Khān (of the Nawab's army) was captured in the thick melee with some elephants and twenty-five horses. The Nawab himself retreated and marched to

ডেড়হাত্তির^১ সাইর হইল তার সাএ ।
পচিশ ঘোড়া সূর্দা খেত আইল তাথে ॥
মোসাহেব থাঁ জদি পইল নিকুনেতে ।
যলুদি নবাব যাইল কাঁটয়াতে ॥
এথাতে হাজি সাহেব রসদ লইঞা ।
পাঠাইঞা দিল কত নৈকায় করিয়া ॥
তবে রসদ আসিয়া কাটঞাতে পহচিল ।
নবাব সাহেবের লোক খাইয়া বাচিল ॥
ঘেরাও ছইতে নবাব আইল কাটঞাতে ।
শুনিয়া ভাস্কর তবে লাগিল ভাবিতে ॥
ছি ছি ছি হাএ হাএ গেল পলাইয়া ।
এতদিন তথা আসিয়া ছিলাম ঘেরিয়া ॥
তবে সব বরগি গ্রাম লুটিতে লাগিল ।
জত গ্রামের লোক সব পলাইল ॥
ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিত পলাএ পুথির ভার লইয়া ।
সোণার বাইনা পলায় কত নিক্তি হড়পি লইয়া ॥
গন্ধবণিক পলাএ দোকান লইয়া জত ।
তামা পিতল লইয়া কাঁসারি পলাএ কত ॥

^১ About the Bengali expression ডেড়হাত্তির সাইর Mr. Mustafi wanted to make it mean some tactical formation (বৃহ) of troops. I think হাত্তি means হাত্তি or elephant and ডেড়হাত্তি means a line and a half of elephants in battle array.

Kātowā.¹ In the meantime Hāji Saheb sent provisions to the Nawab in some boats. The suffering men of the Nawab reduced to great distress considered this help as Providential and were thus saved when these provisions reached Kātowā. Thus although surrounded by the Bargis, the Nawab was still able to escape to Kātowā and this news made Bhāskar meditate seriously,—“Fie unto me,” said Bhāskar in his mind. “I surrounded the Nawab so long for nothing. I feel extremely disgraced owing to the successful retreat of the Nawab.” The Bargis then engaged in wholesale pillage of the surrounding locality. The villagers all around fled away in all directions and in deep distress. The learned Brahmins ran away with their loads of *Puthis* (manuscripts), the goldsmiths fled with their scales and weights; the spice-dealers also followed with the goods of their shops.

কামার কুমার পলাএ লইয়া চাক নড়ি ।
জাউলা মাউছা পলাএ লইয়া জালদড়ি ॥
সঙ্কবণিক পলাএ করা লইয়া যত ।
চতুর্দিকে লোক পলাএ কি বলিব কত ॥
কাএন্ত বৈষ্ণ জত গ্রামে ছিল ।
বরগির নাম সুইনা সব পলাইল ॥
ভাল মানুষের স্ত্রীলোক জত হাটে নাই পথে ।
বরগীর পলানে পেটারি লইল মাথে ॥
ক্ষেত্রি রাজপুত্র যত তলয়ারের ধনি ।
তলয়ার ফেলাইএগা তারা পলাএ যমনি ॥
গোসাঞি মোহাস্ত জত চোপালায় চরিয়া ।
বোচকা বুচকি লয় জত বাহকে করিয়া ॥

¹ “.....In the engagement with Ragho-Dje at the Ranees Reservoir Shimshir-qhan had suffered him to escape.”—S. Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 15.

In this way, the bell-metal-dealers (with their wares), the blacksmiths, the potters (with their wheels), the boatmen, the fishermen (with their nets and ropes) and the shell-bracelet-dealers—all took different directions for their safety. All the Kāyasthas and the Vaidyas decamped from their homes with their belongings even only hearing the dreaded name of the Bargis. The ladies belonging to the families of the upper classes who never travelled on foot, were obliged to do so with baskets on their heads. All the Kshatriyas and the Rajputs, who were professional fighters, left their swords and took to their heels to save

. 4th fol., obverse.

চাশা কৈবর্ত জত জাএ পলাইঞা ।
বিছন বলদের পিঠে লাঙ্গল লইয়া ॥
সেক সৈয়দ মোগল পাঠান জত গ্রামে ছিল ।
বরগির নাম শুনৈ সব পলাইল ॥
গর্ভবতি নারী যত না পারে চলিতে ।
দারুণ বেদনা পেয়ে প্রসবিছে পথে ॥
সিকদার পাটয়ারি জত গ্রামে ছিল ।
বরগির নাম শুনৈ সব পলাইল ॥
দশবিস লোক যাইসা পথে দাড়াইলা ।
তা সভারে সোধাএ বরগি কোথাএ দেখিলা ॥
তারা সব বলে মোরা চক্ষু দেখি নাই ।
লোকের পলান দেইখা আমরা পলাই ॥
কান্দাল গরীব জত জাএ পলাইয়া ।
কেথা ধোকড়ি কত মাথাএ করিয়া ॥
বুড়া বুড়ি জাএ জত হাতে লইয়া নড়ি ।
চাঞি ধানুক^১ পলাএ কত ছাগলের গলায় নড়ি ॥

^১ চাঞি ধানুক = এক জাতীয় সাঁওতাল ।

themselves. All the Goswamis (spiritual preceptors) and the Mohantas (keepers of holy shrines) fled in Dulis (a kind of light palanquins) on the approach of the Bargis, their luggage being carried by their attendants. All the cultivating Kaivartas went their way with bullocks in their front. These bullocks carried the seeds and the cultivators themselves carried the ploughs behind them. The Mahomedan population, such as the Sheiks and Saiyads, all fled in disorder. The pregnant women being unable to walk gave birth to children on the way after enduring severe hardships. The matchlock-men and the village accountants—all left their village homes on hearing a report of the advent of the Bargis. When a group of men were found on the way people asked them as to where they had seen the Bargis. They in return replied, "We have never seen the Bargis with our own eyes, but we flee as other people also are doing so." The poor and indigent men all left their places with country-blankets on their heads. The old men and women fled with sticks in their hands. Aborigines belonging to the Sonthal tribe known as 'Chāiñ-Dhānuk' also followed them dragging the goats tied with strings. All fled for fear of the Bargis panic-stricken. So the thirty-six castes of the Hindus fled without exception.

ছোট বড় গ্রামে জুত লোক ছিল ।

বরগির ভএ সব পলাইল ॥

চাইর দিগে লোক পলাঞ ঠাঞি ঠাঞি ।

ছত্তিস বর্ণের লোক পলাএ তার অন্ত নাঞি ॥

এই মতে সব লোক পলাইয়া জাইতে ।

আচম্বিতে বরগি ঘেরিলা আইসা সাথে ॥

মাঠে ঘেরিয়া বরগী দেয় তবে সাড়া ।

সোনা রূপা লুটে নেএ আর সব ছাড়া ॥

But the Bargis were too clever for them. They surrounded the fleeing people all on a sudden in open fields and gave shouts which served as signals. The plundering of gold and silver was not all.

The Bargis cut down the hands, noses and ears of their unhappy victims. They also killed many by inflicting deadly blows. They captured fair women, tied their fingers and necks with ropes, and a number of them caught hold of a single youthful woman and inhumanly treated her by brutally dishonouring her. The women groaned under their fell villainy. After giving full vent to their beastly desires in this way, the Bargis left these women to their fate and began to carry on their depredations in the villages. They set fire to the houses without sparing the Chauāris, Bāngālās, Vishnu-mandabs and even the small huts of the poor,—all of which were indiscriminately burnt down. They oppressed the people horribly. They tied the hands of some of their victims behind their backs and kicked

কারু হাত কাটে কারু নাক কান ।

এক চোটে কারু বধএ পরাণ ॥

ভাল ভাল স্ত্রীলোক জত ধইরা লইয়া জাএ ।

আঙ্গুষ্ঠে দড়ি বাঁধি দেয় তার গলাএ ॥

এক জনে ছাড়ে তারে আর জনা ধরে ।

রমনের ভরে ত্রাহি শব্দ করে ॥

এই মত বরগি কত পাপ কৰ্ম্ম কইরা ।

সেই সব স্ত্রীলোক জত দেয় সব ছাইড়া ॥

তবে মাঠে লুটিয়া বরগী গ্রামে সাধাএ ।

বড় বড় ঘরে আইসা আগুনি লাগাএ ॥

বান্ধালা চৌআরি জত বিক্ষুব্ধ ॥

ছোট বড় ঘর আদি পোড়াইল সব ॥

others with their shoes till they fell down to the ground. They cried for more money and as their growing demand could not be met, the unfortunate people were belaboured and water was made to pass through their nostrils till suffocation. Some they drowned in water of the tanks. Thus the Bargis killed people without mercy under all kinds of pretexts, for extortion of money. Those who had money gave their all to the Bargis and those who had not lost their lives. The sacred canal Bhāgirathi, brought down from Heaven by Prince Bhagirath for saving the sinners, now became filled with fugitives who crossed the river to fly from the hands of their unscrupulous pursuers. The names of the places burnt by the Bargis are given below. These were—

Chandrakona, Medinipur, Dignagar (Diganpur, Parishad edition), Khirpai, Burdwan, Nimgāchhi, Sherga, Simaitā, Chandipur and Syampur. In this way the

এই মতে জত সব গ্রাম পোড়াইয়া ।
 চতুর্দিকে বরগি বেড়াএ লুটিয়া ॥
 কালকে বাঁধে বরগি দিয়া পিঠমোড়া ।
 চিত কইরা মারে লাথি পাএ জুতা চড়া ॥
 রূপি দেহ দেহ বোলে বারে বারে ।
 রূপি না পাইয়া তবে নাকে জল ভরে ॥
 কালকে ধরিয়া বরগী পথইরে ডুবাএ ।
 ফাফর হইএগা তবে কারু প্রাণ জাএ ॥
 এই মতে বরগি কত বিপরীত করে ।
 টাকা কড়ি না পাইলে তারে প্রাণে মারে ॥
 জার টাকা কড়ি আছে সেই দেয় বরগিরে ।
 জার টাকা কড়ি নাই সেই প্রাণে মরে ॥
 ত্রেতা জুগে রাজা ভগীরথ ছিল ।
 অনেক তপস্তা করি গঙ্গা আনিলা ॥

whole locality of Burdwan was put to the flames. The Bargis next approached Hooghly where Pir Khan (Sher Khan, Parishad edition) was the Foujdar.

It was for him that the Bargis could not ravage the town. But in this locality they succeeded in sacking the Raja's house at Sātsaikā ; besides they attacked and burnt the following places :—

Chāndpur, Kālnā (Kalmara, Parishad ed.), Bansberia, (Sarai in the Parishad ed.), Madwai (Dāmadwai, Parishad ed.), Jadupur, Bhatchhala, Meerjapur, Chāndadā, Kuḍban, Palāsy (Plassey), Bauchi, Beudā, Samudrargad, Jānnagar, Nuddea, Māhātāpur, Sunanthapur, Thail, Parānpur, Bhātara, Māndadā, Sarbhāngā, Dhitpur,

পৃথিবীতে নাম তার হইলা ভাগিরথী ।
তার পার হইয়া লোকে পাইলা অব্যাহতি ॥
তবে কোন কোন গ্রাম বরগী দিলা পোড়াইয়া ।
সে সব গ্রামের নাম শুন মন দিয়া ॥
চন্দ্রকোনা মেদিনীপুর আর দিগনগর ।
খিরপাই পোড়ায় আর বর্দ্ধমান সহর ॥
নিমগাছি সেড়গা আর সিমইলা ।
চণ্ডীপুর শ্যামপুর গ্রাম আনইলা ॥
এই মতে বর্দ্ধমান পোড়ায় চাইরভিতে ।
পুনরপি আইলা বরগি বন্দর হুগলিতে ॥
পির থা ফৌজদার তবে হুগলিতে ছিল ।
তাহার কারণে বরগী লুটিতে নারিল ॥
সাতসইকা রাজবাটী আর চাঁদপুর ।
কালনা, বাঁশবেড়িয়া, মন্ডৈ, জহুপুর ॥
ভাটছালা পোড়াএ আর মেরজাপুর চান্দড়া ।
কুড়বন পলাসি যার বউচি বেউড়া ॥

Chāndaḍa and Sātsaikā (mentioned twice), Jagirābad, Kumirā, Baultali, Nimdā, Kaḍai, Kaithan (Kadai-Kaithan, Parishad ed.), Chārail, Singibāskā, Ghodānā (Ghodānāsh, Parishad ed.), Samastail (Mastail, Parishad ed.), Gotpādā, Chāndpaḍa, Agdia, Pātani (Patali, Parishad ed., burnt in one night), Ataihat, Pātāihat, Dāiñhāt,¹ Beda-Bhāosingh, Bikihāt, Indrāil Pargannah,² Kāgā-Mogā (an inland port belonging to the Dutch), Jemuakandi, Birbhuin Pargannah, Āmdaharā, Mahādevpur (Mahaserpur, Parishad ed.), Goālābhuin, Senabhuin

সমূহরগড় জারগর আর নদিয়া ।
 মাহাতাপুর সুনটপুর থইল পোড়াএ গিয়া ॥
 পরাণপুর ভাটরা পোড়াএ আর মান্দড়া ।
 সরভাঙ্গা ধিতপুর আর গ্রাম চান্দড়া ॥
 সাতসইকা জাগিরাবাদ সকল পোড়াইঞা ।
 কুমিড়া বউলতলি নিমদা পোড়াএ গিঞা ॥
 কড়ই কৈথান পোড়াএ আর চাড়ইল ।
 সিঙ্গিবাস্কা ঘোড়ানা সমস্তইল ॥
 গোটপাড়া চাঁদপাড়া আর যাগদিয়া ।
 রাতারাতি পাটনি দিল পোড়াইয়া ॥
 আতাইহাট পাতাইহাট আর ডাঞিহাট ।
 বেড়া ভাওসিংহ পোড়াএ আর বিকীহাট ॥

¹ Daiñhat is one of the thirteen 'Hats' of Indrani Parganna. It is the southernmost 'Hat.' About sixty years back the Ganges flowed by Daiñhat. It was once a very famous place and home of many stone-masons.

² Indrail or Indrani Pargannah was formerly to the south of the river Ajaya. It once formed a part of the Burdwan district but is now included in the Hooghly district. For details of some of these places see রাড়-ভ্রমণ by Panchanan Banerjee, সাহিত্য-পরিষদ-পত্রিকা, ৩য় সংখ্যা, সন ১৩১৪.

and Vishnupur (the Bargis were unable to injure Van-Vishnupur due to the efforts of the ruler of Vishnupur named Gopal and so it was saved).¹ The Bargis then made a rush to loot the town (of Hooghly) by keeping Naihati, Urdhanpur and Katwa to the right. They crossed the river Bāblā, and passed Mākulpādā (Mānganpādā, Parishad ed.), Sātai, Kāmnagar, Mahunā (Mahulā Parishad ed.), Chourigāchhā, Kāthāliā, Ādhār-manik (*viā* Rangamāitā), Goāljan, Budhaipādā, and Neanispādā (Nealishpādā, Parishad ed.) and rapidly reached Dāhāpādā. On the opposite bank of the river Ganges on which stood Dāhāpādā, was

এইরূপে ইন্দ্রাইল পরগনা বরগি লুটি ।
কাগাএ মাগাএ লুটে ওলন্দেজের কুটি ॥
এইরূপে কাগামোগা পোড়াইঞা ।
রাতারাতি পহাচিলা জেমুয়াকান্দি গিঞা ॥
তবে বিরভুই পরগনা বরগি দিল পোড়াইয়া ।
আমডহরা মহদেবপুর থানা কৈল গিঞা ॥
গোয়ালাভুঞা সেনভুঞা সব পোড়াইলা ।
চতুদিগ পোড়াইয়া বিষ্ণুপুর আইলা ॥
তবে বোনবিষ্ণুপুর গোপাল রক্ষা করে ।
য়সান্ত বরগির তবে কি করিতে পারে ॥
সহর লুটিতে বর্গী তবে আইল ধাইয়া ।
নৈহাটী উর্কানপুর কাটঞা ডাইনে থুইয়া ॥
বাবলা নদী বরগি তবে পার হইল ।
মাকুলপাড়া সাটই কামনগর আইল ॥

¹ See Bengal District Gazetteer, No. XIV. See also Pravasi, Falgoon 1332 B. S., p. 708. Gopal Singha was ruler of Vishnupur sometime between 1730-1745 A.D. See also Riyaz-us-salatin and S. Mutkherin. There is a current belief that the tutelary deity Madanmohan Himself fought against the Marathas.

Hajiganj. Herein lived Haji, the Deputy Nawab (ছোট নবাব), who, on hearing of the approach of the Bargis, concealed himself at Kirnā.¹ The Bargis, by that time, crossed the Ganges and reached the ghat of Hajiganj. On arriving at the place they promptly looted the treasury of Jagat Seth. It contained money amounting to two crores and a half all of which were plundered. The Bargis kept their plunder concealed in the kit meant for the grain-sack (for horses). After scattering a few hundred rupees on the floor in a hurry, they recrossed the river. As soon as they left the place the Fakirs and the common people who happened to be present

মহনা, চৌরিগাছা আর কাঠালিয়া ।
আধারমানিক আইলা বরগী রাঙ্গমাইটা দিয়া ॥
গোয়ালজান বুধইপাড়া আর নেয়ানিস পাড়া ।
শীতগতি আসিয়া পহচিলা দাহাপাড়া ॥
হাজি ছোট নবাব উপারে ছিল ।
বরগির নাম সুইনা কীনাএ সাঁধাইল ॥
তবে বরগি পার হইল হাজিগঞ্জের ঘাটে ।
শীতগতি আইসা জগৎ সেটের বাড়ী লুটে ॥
আড়কাট টাকা যত ঘরে ছিল ।
ঘোড়ার খুরচি ভইরা সব টাকা নিল ॥
তবে সও দুই তিন টাকা ছিটাইঞা ।
শীতগতি গেলা বরগী গঙ্গা পার হইয়া ॥
তবে ফকীর ফকীরা গিরস্ত জত ছিল ।
সেই সব টাকা তারা লুটিতে লাগিল ॥
তবে কাটঞাতে নবাব সাহেব স্থনিল ।
জগৎ সেটের বাড়ী বরগি লুইটা গেল ॥

¹ According to the Sahitya-Parishad edition, the word is 'Killā' (কীলা) and not Kinnā or Kirnā. The former word means a fort.

there commenced to imitate the example of the Bargis and loot the money left there.

The Nawab who was at Katwa heard in due course that the house of Jagat Seth had been plundered. When a messenger brought this bad news, he at once left Katwa. In course of one night the Nawab marched to Monkara. He reached this place by early morning. Here the Nawab put many questions to Haji Saheb and expressed his sympathy for the mishap at Jagat Seth's house by rebuking the Haji for his inability to protect Jagat Seth's house while the Haji had an army at his disposal. When the Nawab Saheb reached Kirnā, all the Bargis concentrated at Katwa. It was the month of Āsāḍha and the rains fell heavily when not only the river Ajaya but also the river Ganges became overflowed. So the Bargis could not continue their plundering raids any longer. They dispersed in various directions and

এতেক কথা জদি হরকারা কহিল ।
কাটঞা হইতে নবাব শীগ্র চলিল ॥
রাতারাতি তবে নবাব আইলা মোনকরা ।
ভোর হইতে হইতে তবে পহচিলা ডেরা ॥
তবে হাজি সাহেবকে নবাব অনেক বুলিল ।
এতেক লঙ্কর রইতে বাড়ী লুইটা গেল ॥
নবাব সাহেব যদি আইলা কীর্ণাতে^১ ।
তবে সব বরগি জড় হইল কাটঞাতে ॥
আসাড় মাসের দেওয়া ঘন বরিষন ।
অজ্ঞা ভাসিয়া গঙ্গা ভরিল তখন ॥
গঙ্গা ভরিল যদি ইপার উপার ।
তবে বরগী লুটিবারে নাহি পাএ আর ॥

^১ কীর্ণা (পরিষৎ-সংস্করণ) ।

encamped in the localities of Kātwā, Bhāosingh, Beda and Dāiñhāt. All the Zemindars of this area met Bhāskar as a result of which collectors were dispatched to the surrounding villages for realising the land revenues without fail.¹

Now, let me say a word about Meer Habib. It was he who had laid the foundation of a bridge just at this time, with the help of forced labour. He brought all the big boats that he could lay his hands upon, and informed the people of both the banks of the river that

these boats were requisitioned for work
Fol. five, obverse. in the locality. He brought in bamboos

from sundry villages and caused them to be spread upon the boats to form a bridge. Over them were fitted the grass mattings. Many baskets of earth were also spread over these boats. Thousands of horses were transported

কাটএগা ভাওসিংহ বেড়া ডাইহাট দিয়া ।
চাইরদিগে বরগি ছায়নি কৈল গিয়া ॥
গ্রামে গ্রামে জত জমিদার ছিল ।
তারা সবে আসি ভাস্ককে মিলিল ॥
গ্রামে গ্রামে যত তাগিদার গেল ।
তারা সব জাইয়া খাজনা সাদিতে লাগিল ॥
এথা মির হবিব লইয়া কিছু সুন বিবরণ ।
ফরাস বন্দির^২ পর্তন করিলা তখন ॥
বড় বড় নৈক। যেখানে যত ছিল ।
বেগার ধরিয়া সব নৈক। আনিল ॥

¹ The passage containing the incident, from the Nawab's reaching of Monkara in the early morning to the sending of tax-collectors to the villages by Zemindars, has not been translated by Prof. Samaddar.

² ফরাসবন্দি = পুলবন্দি ।

with the help of these boats. No sooner a bridge was constructed than the Bargis commenced plundering the whole of the locality.

Now hear something about Bhāskar's celebration of the Durga Pujah at Dāiñhāt. The local Zemindars were summoned by the Mahratta general. He said to them, "I wish to worship the goddess Durgā." Upon this they began to make preparations for the Pujah with much devotion. Some brought the potters for making the image of the goddess Durga while some engaged themselves in supervising the making of the image. When the potters had made the image, all delicious things were brought in the temple and dedicated to her. Thousands of goats and buffaloes were sacrificed at the

ইপারে উপারে লাহাস দিল তানাইয়া ।
নৌকা সব তার মধ্যে রাখিল বান্ধিয়া ॥
গ্রামে গ্রামে হইতে আনে জত বাস ।
নৌকার উপর বিছাইয়া বান্ধেন ফরাস ॥
ঘাস চাটাই তার উপরেত দিল ।
পাইছাএ পাইছাএ মাটি ফেলিতে লাগিল ॥
মাটি ফেলিয়া তবে করে বরাবর ।
হাজারে হাজারে ঘোড়া জাএ তার উপর ॥
ডাণ্ডিহাটের ঘাটে যদি পুল বাঁধা গেল ।
কত সত বরগী তারা লুটিতে চলিল ॥
এথা ভাস্কর লইয়া কিছু শূন বিবরণ ।
জেরুপে ডাণ্ডিহাটে কৈলা পূজা আরস্তন ॥
তবে গ্রামে গ্রামে জত জমিদার ছিল ।
তা সভারে ডাক দিয়া নিকটে আনিল ॥
কহিতে লাগিল তবে তা সবার ঠাণ্ডি ।
জগতজননি মায়ের পূজা করিতে চাই ॥

altar of the goddess worshipped by Bhāskar Pandit. When Bhāskar was attending the religious function with so much pomp, Meer Habib started with a detachment of Bargis towards Futisāko. He forded the river during night with the help of the bridge and reached his destination (Futisāko) long before it was morning. At midnight there was a great uproar and the Nawab was informed of the approach of the Bargis at Futisāko. He at once commanded his herald to make his conveyance

এই কথা ভাস্কর কহিল তা সভারে ।
 শ্রদ্ধা পাইয়া তারা সব উজ্জ্বল করে ॥
 ঘটকপূর^১ আনে কেহ করিয়া সন্মান ।
 আসিঞা প্রতিমা তারা করেন নিৰ্ম্মান ॥
 এইরূপে কুমার প্রতিমা বানাইয়া ।
 ভাস্করের ঠাই তারা গেল বিদায় হইয়া ॥
 তারপর উপাদেএ সামগ্রী আইল জত ।
 ভার বাহ্যকিতে বোঝাএ কত শত ॥
 ভাস্কর করিবে পূজা বলি দিবার তরে ।
 ছাগ মহিষ আইসে কত হাজারে হাজারে ॥
 এইমতে করে ভাস্কর পূজা আরম্ভন ।
 এথা মির হবিব বরগী লইয়া করিল গমন ॥
 তবে বরগী ফরাসবন্দিতে পার হইয়া ।
 রাতারাতি ফুটিসাঁকো উঠিলেন গিয়া ॥
 দ্বিতীয় প্রহর রাইতে হড়বড়ি হইল ।
 ফুটিসাঁকো বরগি আইল নবাব শুনিল ॥
 তবে নবাব সাহেব নকিব পাঠাএ ।
 দ্বিতীয় প্রহর রাইতে নকিব শীঘ্র ধাএ ॥

^১ ঘটকপূর = কুম্ভকার ।

ready at midnight. His herald no sooner informed the men of the intention of the Nawab with haste than all the troopers saddled their horses immediately and the commanders (the Jemadars) started to make preparations for a march. Many drums were beaten on the occasion. Mustafa Khan and Samser Khan were the two Jemadars under whom followed twenty thousand horse. Raham Khan and Karam Khan marched together with ten thousand horse with them. Ātāullā and Meer Jāfar likewise marched together with a cavalry fifteen thousand strong, while Umar Khan and Āsāmat (Asalat, Parishad ed. and Samaddar's ed.) Khan—both followed with five thousand horsemen. Thakur Singh and Bakis-Bahania—both started with forty thousand men of the transport service. Similarly Fateh Hāji and Chbedan Hāji ¹—both followed with thirty-five thousand

নকিব আসিয়া তবে বোলে বারবার ।
 হুকুম নবাবের সোয়ারি করহ তৈয়ার ॥
 এতেক কহিল জদি নকিব আসিয়া ।
 তবে সব ঘোড়ায় জিন দিল চড়াইয়া ॥
 একে একে জমাদার লাগিল সাজিতে ।
 ডকা নাগরা কত লাগিল বাজিতে ॥
 মুস্তাফা খাঁ সমসের খাঁ দুই জমাদার ।
 জার সঙ্গে যায় ঘোড়া বিস হাজার ॥
 রহম খাঁ করম খাঁ দুই জনাতে জাএ ।
 দশ হাজার ঘোড়া জার সঙ্গে ধাএ ॥
 আতাউল্লা মির্জাকর দুইজনা সাজিল ।
 পোনের হাজার ঘোড়া সঙ্গে চলিল ॥

¹ Sedan Hazi—Samaddar.

carriers.¹ With sixty thousand horse and a lakh and a half carriers, the Nawab reached Tarakpur. As soon as the Nawab reached this place, the Bargis at sight of such a vast army recoiled, turned back and eventually retreated in fear. The Nawab's troops lost no time in pursuing them. There was a detachment of the Bargis stationed at Plassey. When they heard of the approach of the Nawab, they lost no time in beating a hasty retreat. In no time the Bargis crossed the bridge and destroyed it, to prevent further pursuit.

উমর খাঁ আসামত দুইজনেতে গেল ।
 পাঁচ হাজার ঘোড়া সঙ্গে কইরা নিল ॥
 ঠাকুর সিংহ জাএ আর বক্সি বহনিয়া ।
 চল্লিশ হাজার বহনিয়া সঙ্গেতে করিয়া ॥
 কতে হাজি ছেদন হাজি দুই জনাতে গেল ।
 পেএত্রিশ হাজার বহনিয়া সঙ্গে চলিল ॥
 সাইট হাজার ঘোড়া ডেড়লাক বহনিয়া ।
 তারকপুর আইলা নবাব এত ফৌজ লইয়া ॥
 যেইমাত্র নবাব সাহেব তারকপুর আইল ।
 ফৌজের ধমক দেইখা বরগি পিছাইল ॥
 তবে বরগি পিছে দিয়া শীঘ্র চইলা জাএ ।
 নবাব সাহেবের ফৌজ পিছে পিছে ধাএ ॥
 পলাসিতে জত বরগির থানা ছিল ।
 নবাব সাহেবের নাম শুনৈনা অমনি পলাইল ॥
 সিংগতি আসি বরগি পুলে পার হইল ।
 পার হইএগ পুল তবে কাটিএগাত দিল ॥

¹ Labourers according to Samaddar. The translation of the lines have been omitted by Samaddar.

² বক্সি (বকিস, বক্সি) বহনিয়া, Leader of the labour corps—Samaddar.

The Nawab reached Rahanpur by a night-march from Tarakpur and saw the camp of the Bargis, at Kātawā on the other side of the river. Here the Nawab pitched his tent placing the gunson all sides of the encampment. From this place he wrote to Purnea and Patna for help and sent two messengers to the rulers of those two places. On receipt of information from the Nawab, Jayandi (*i.e.* Jainuddin) Ahammad Khan marched from Patna with twelve thousand horse. The Nawab of Purnia also came to help the Nawab of Bengal with five thousand horse. Jayandi Ahammad Khan advised the Nawab Aliverdy to kill Bhaskar before the Pujah. The Nawab replied, "Let the last day (the Bejoyā Dasami) of the Durgā Pujah festival be over and by that time let the water

Fol. five, reverse.

এথা নবাব রাতারাতি আইল রহনপুরে ।
 দেখে বরগির ছাউনি কাটঞাত উপরে ॥
 রহনপুরে নবাব সাহেব মোরচা দিল ।
 চতুদ্দিগে তোপ খা রুপিয়া রাখিল ॥
 পূরনিয়া পাটনাএ লেখিলেন খত ।
 চলিলা দুইজনা শুইনা হকিকত ॥
 হেথা জয়ন্দি আহাম্মদ থা আইলা পাটনা হইতে ।
 বার হাজার ঘোড়া ফৌজ লইয়া সাথে ॥
 নবাব বাহাদুর আইলা পূরনিয়া হতে ।
 পাচ হাজার ফৌজ সেহ লইয়া সাথে ॥
 তবে জয়ন্দি আহাম্মদ বোলে নবাবকে ।
 পূজা না হৈতে আগে মার ভাস্করকে ॥
 নবাব বোলে আগে দসরা জাউগ ।
 চাইর দিকে জল কাদা সকলি সুখাউগ ॥

of the rainy season also subside allowing the land to dry." On hearing the opinion of the Nawab Jayandi Ahammad Khan said,—“What advantage will you derive if the water subside? Rather it will help the Bargis to pillage and sack the country all around. Let me bring the army across the river with the help of boats, so that your troops may make a surprise attack and kill the Bargis in course of the night.” While Jayandi Ahammad Khan and the Nawab were discussing about the ways and means to rout the Bargis, Meer Habib of Bhaskar's army accomplished something which is worth noticing.

Meer Habib arranged the big guns in rows and brought some sloops from Hooghly. Then the gunners suddenly opened fire from their battery and the balls

এত যদি নবাব বুলিয়া তার করে ।
জয়ন্দি আহাম্মদ খাঁ বোলে নবাবেরে ॥
জল কাঁদা শুকাইলে বরগির হবে বল ।
চতুর্দিকে লুণ্ঠিবে পোড়াবে সকল ॥
ফৌজ পার কইরা দি নৌকায় করিয়া ।
রাতারাতি যেন বরগী মারে গিয়া ॥
জয়ন্দী আহাম্মদ নবাব এই মনপ্রভা করে ।
মির হবির লইয়া কিছু শুন তার পরে ॥
বড় বড় কামান আইনা পুইলা ধরে ধরে ।
হুগলি হইতে শুলুক আনে তার পরে ॥
তবে গোলন্দাজে গোলা দাগিতে লাগিল ।
মোরচা ছেদিয়া গোলা ফৌজে পড়িল ॥
জেই মাত্র গোলা আইসা ফৌজে পৈল ।
তখন নবাব সাহেব অমনি পিছাইল ॥

fell on the troops of the Nawab so incessantly that he was at last compelled to retreat. In course of the cannonade a gun on board a sloop gave way and in bursting killed some among a group of men who happened to surround it. Eventually both the cannon and the sloop upon which it was placed were lost in the river. This untoward event led Meer Habib to seriously ponder over his perilous situation. He realised that in the circumstances it would be impossible to gain victory. He said within himself, "I made such excellent preparations and still I fail to win victory." This to him was ominous. Just at this time the sun was going down and the evening was fast approaching.

Now, hear something about the Nawab. A messenger picked up the information and conveyed it to the Nawab that a cannon of the enemy (which was playing havoc in the Nawab's ranks) had burst. This infused courage in the Nawab and he issued a general order to his entire army to advance. Those who fell behind

গোলা দাগিতে কামান গেল ফুইটা ।
 শুলুক ডুবিল তলা তার ফাইটা ।
 দশ বিস লোক তারা নিকটে ছিল ।
 কামান ফাটিয়া দুই চাইর জনা মইল ।
 শুলুক কামান যদি দুই তবে গেল ।
 শুনিয়া মির হাবিব তবে ভাবিতে লাগিল ।
 ফতে নাই নাই বলে বারে বারে ।
 এতেক উর্জোগ করিলাম নাতিলাম জিনিবারে ।
 সূর্য্য অস্ত গেল সন্ধ্যা হইল তখন ।
 এখা নবাব লইএল কিছু শুন বিবরণ ।
 সম্ভাদ লইয়া হরকারা আইলা হাইটা ।
 কহিল নবাবে কামান গেল ফাইটা ।

returned and each soldier duly joined his section. The torches were lighted and the 'Barkandaj' troop who were lagging behind rejoined their respective sections in no time. The army of the Nawab opened fire which gave out a tremendous sound as thousands of fire-arms of every description were unloaded simultaneously. The Bargis witnessed from the opposite bank the sudden activity of the Nawab's army, remaining themselves inactive all the while. At this stage Jayandi Ahammad Khan came to Uddharanpur and constructed a bridge of boats. He brought with him expert boatmen and with the help of their Pāтели boats (which he tied two and two) transported the army of the Nawab to Uddharanpur. The whole army thus lay encamped on the bank of the Ajaya. Ten thousand soldiers were silently conveyed from one bank

এতেক শুনিয়া নবাবে হৈল বল ।
 লুকুম করিলা কোঁজে আউগাউক সকল ॥
 জত লঙ্কর তারা পিছে হইটা ছিল ।
 আপন আপন মোরাচাএ সভাই আইল ॥
 তবে বল মহাতাব সব জালিয়াত ছিল ।
 বরকন্দাজের পরা মোরাচাএ লাগিল ॥
 হাজারে হাজারে আওয়াজ হএ একিবারে ।
 ডাড়াইয়া বরগি সব দেখে উপারে ॥
 এই মতে নবাবের ফৌজ আছে বরাবরে ।
 এথা জয়ন্দি আহাম্মদ থা আইলা উদ্ধারণপুরে ॥
 বড় বড় পাটেলি সাথে আইসা ছিল ।
 জুড়িন্দা বাধিয়া গুদারা লাগাইল ॥
 উদ্ধারণপুরে জত ফৌজ পার কৈলা ।
 যজএর ধারে আইসা সব দাড়াইলা ॥

to the other, of the rivers Ajaya and Hooghly in this way. Ratan Hājāri (literally leader of a thousand men) with twenty-two hundred men were on these boats of Patali type. But as these were overloaded, the bottom of them gave way just in the middle of the river Ajaya and sank. The boatmen were drowned and there was much confusion and noise among the troops which broke the secrecy of the Nawab's movements.¹

Information rapidly spread in the Maratha camp about this disaster in the Nawab's army, on the other side of the river. The news that the Moghuls were coming to attack, also speedily circulated all around the

পুনরপি জুড়িন্দা আইনা লাগাইল ।
দশ হাজার ফৌজ নিসন্দে পার হইল ॥
বাইস সও লোক সূক্ষ্ম রতন হাজারি ।
পাটেলির উপরে তারা সভে চড়ি ॥
যেই মাত্র পাটেলি আইল মধ্যখানে ।
তলা ফাটীয়া ডুবিল সেইস্থানে ॥
পাটেলি ডুবিল ফৌজে হইল কলরব ।
উপারে বরগীর ফৌজে জানিল সব ॥
মোগল আইল আইল পইল হড়বড়ি ।
তখন ঘোড়ায় চড়িয়া বরগি জাএ দউড়া দউড়ি ॥

¹ Grant Duff's estimate of loss is fifteen hundred men and not twenty-two hundred men. Thus, "Before the rivers had fallen, he prepared a bridge of boats, which in the night, he threw first across the Hooghly, and then over the Adjee, which enabled him to gain the opposite bank, although in consequence of a break in the fastening which had laced the boats together, fifteen hundred men were plunged in the Adjee, and totally lost, before the accident was discovered." Grant Duff's A History of the Mahrattas, Vol. 2, p. 13.

camp and they lost no time in hurriedly mounting their horses to fly in hot haste. This example was first set by the men of the transport service. Being panic-stricken the Bargis shared each of their horses jointly and were compelled to leave many articles behind. Bhāskar had only completed the 'Saptami' and 'Astami' Pujas when he was compelled to abandon further activities and flee in a hurry leaving the image of Durga behind, before the Puja was finished. The sweets that were left there were afterwards looted by the carriers. The goats and the buffaloes that remained were also seized by them. When these men were plundering the Maratha camp, Bhāskar, the leader of the Maratha army, was retreating with his whole force. It was when Bhāskar had gone a long way that Jayandi Ahammad was apprised of this

বরগির লস্করে জদি পাইল হড়বড় ।
 হেনকালে বহইনাতে ধরিল ডেহড় ॥
 এক এক ঘোড়ায় দুই দুই বরগি চড়িয়া ।
 ভ্রবা সামগ্রী কত জাএ ফেলাইয়া ॥
 সপ্তমী অষ্টমী দুই পূজা করি ।
 ভাস্কর পলাইয়া জাএ প্রতিমা ছাড়ি ॥
 মিষ্টান্ন সামগ্রী যত ছিল কাছে ।
 বহনিয়া লুটিতে লাগিল তার পাছে ॥
 ছাগ মৎস্য মহিষ জাহা যত ছিল ।
 বহনিয়া আসিয়া সব লুটিতে লাগিল ॥
 এইমতে সামগ্রী লুটে বহনিয়া ।
 হোতা ফোজ লইয়া ভাস্কর গেল পলাইয়া ॥
 ভাস্কর পলাইয়া যদি গেল অনেক দূরে ।
 জয়ন্দি আহাম্মদ থা সুনিল তার পরে ॥

fact. At this good news the ' Nahabat ' music on horse-
back was being played merrily for some
time. Distribution of alms to the Fakirs
on a liberal scale also continued likewise.

Folio six, obverse.

Bhāskar retreated in the month of Aswin, but re-
turned forthwith in the month of Chaitra. Just after
his return Sirdar Bhāskar commanded his army to kill
with their swords one and all—whether men or women—
that might fall in their way. On this express command
of their chief, the Bargis began to plunder all around
and to shout for murder. Hundreds of Brahmins,
Vaisnavas, and the Sannyasis—even the cows and women
not excepted—were foully murdered by them.

Thousands were ruthlessly and indiscriminately killed
in this manner, and the extreme misery of the people
made the goddess Pārvati (Durgā) very angry. She

সাদিয়ানা নহবদ কত বাজে থরে থরে ।
ফকির ফুকুরাকে খএরাত কত করে ॥
আশ্বিন মাসে ভাস্কর গেল পলাইয়া ।
চৈত্রমাসে পুনরুপি আইল সাজিয়া ॥
জেই মাত্রে পুনরুপি ভাস্কর আইল ।
তবে সরদার সকলকে ডাকিয়া কহিল ॥
স্ত্রী পুরুষ আদি করি যতেক দেখিবা ।
তলোয়ার খুলিয়া সব তাহারে কাটিবা ॥
এতেক বচন জদি বলিল সরদার ।
চতুর্দিকে লুটে কাটে বোলে মারমার ॥
ভ্রাঙ্কণ বৈষ্ণব যত সন্ন্যাসী ছিল ।
গো হত্যা স্ত্রী হত্যা সত সত কৈল ॥
হাজারে হাজারে পাপ কৈল দুর্শ্মতি ।
লোকের বিপত্য দেখি ক্রমিলা পার্বতী ॥

disapproved of the conduct of the Bargis and requested the God Pasupati (Siva) to kill such a devil of a man (Bhāskar). The miscreant killed the Brahmins and the Vaisnavas without compunction. The goddess could not bear such a sight and therefore her anger was roused. All the female attendants of the goddess—the Bhairabis and the Yoginis—who remained there stood with folded palms. The goddess Durga said, “Hear me, O Bhairabis, set your faces against Bhāskar and favour the Nawab henceforth.” So saying the goddess left the place.

Now listen, my readers, how Bhāskar died. When Bhāskar reached Katwa, the Nawab’s camp was at Monkarā. The Nawab’s presence made the place bustle with din and noise. The betel-leaf sellers were busy hawking their article. The grocers and the banias also accompanied the Nawab. His army was counted at this place.

পাপিষ্ঠ মারিতে আদেশিলা পশুপতি ।
 ব্রাহ্মণ বৈষ্ণব হত্যা কৈল পাপমতি ॥
 ব্রাহ্মণ বৈষ্ণবের হিংসা দেখিবারে নারি ।
 এতেক কহিয়া তবে রুসিলা শঙ্করী ॥
 ভৈরবি জোগিনী জুত নিকটে ছিল ।
 জোড়হস্ত কৈরা তারা ছমুতে ডাড়াইল ॥
 তবে দুর্গা কহে শুন যতেক ভৈরবী ।
 ভাস্করকে বাম হইয়া নবাবকে সদয় হবি ॥
 এতেক বলিয়া দুর্গা করিল গমন ।
 এখন জেরুপেতে ভাস্কর মৈল শুন বিবরণ ॥
 ভাস্কর পণ্ডিত যদি আইল কাটএগাতে ।
 শুনিয়া নবাবের ডেরা পইল মোনকরাতে ॥

Now hear something about Bhāskar. Ali Bhāi addressed him by saying, "How many times will you be coming to Bengal in this way ? Forbid your troops from plundering the villages any more and let me go to the Nawab to negotiate a treaty." Bhāskar gave his assent to this proposal and further instructed him to meet the Nawab after keeping himself well on guard. On this Ali Bhāi took with him a detachment of twenty-five horse and reached Monkarā.¹ On arriving at Futi-sako Ali Bhāi sent an agent to interview the Nawab. On being presented to him this man said that Ali Bhāi

পান চাই ধুম পইল সহরেতে ।
মুদি বানিয়া চলে নবাবের সাথে ॥
মোনকরাতে নবাবের ফৌজ হইল স্তমার ।
ভাস্কর লইয়া কিছু পুন তবে আর ॥
তবে আলি ভাই বলে ভাস্করের তরে ।
এইরূপে কতবার আসিবা বারেবারে ॥
ফৌজকে মানা কর গ্রাম লুটিতে ।
আমি জাইয়া বন্দোবস্ত করি নবাবের সাথে ॥

¹ S. Mutkherin gives some details about it and mentions that the camp of the Nawab Aliverdy Khan was originally at Amani-gundj and not at Monkarā whither he shifted only to meet Bhāskar Pandit :—

"At last after many reciprocal oaths had been exchanged, it was agreed that Bha-sukur with all his general officers should make a visit to the Viceroy of Bengal, in the plain of Moncarah. The latter was then encamped at Amani-gundj, as was Bha-sukur at Catwa, which was ten cosses farther. Moncarah having been agreed to by both parties as being at a middle distance from the two camps so soon as the day of interview became known, a magnificent tent of large dimensions was pitched there in the open plain ;....."

S. Mutkherin, Vol. I, p. 433.

had come from the Maratha camp and awaiting for an interview with the Nawab. Aliverdy Khan gave his permission thus :—“ Inform him I agree, but on condition that he will come to me unarmed.” The agent duly informed Ali Bhāi of this condition which the latter agreed to conform. So Ali Bhāi with twenty-five horse-men (but all disarmed to) approached the Nawab who accosted him and said—

“ What makes you to come here ?” Ali Bhāi—“ To settle terms.”

The Nawab—“ I hear Bhāskar will himself meet me. When previously he had surrounded me at Burdwan, I

এতেক সুনিয়া ভাস্কর कहিলেন তাকে ।
 সাবধান হইয়া তুমি মিল নবাবকে ॥
 তবে আলি পঁচিশ ঘোড়া লইয়া সাথে ।
 নবাবের সাথে মিলিতে আইল মোনকরাতে ।
 ফুটিসাঁকো যদি আলি ভাই আইলা ।
 সেইখানে থাকিয়া উকিল পাঠাইলা ॥
 উকিল আসিয়া তবে কহে নবাবেরে ।
 আলি সাহেব আইসে নবাব সাহেবকে মিলিবারে ॥
 তবে নবাব বোলে বোল যাইয়া তারে ।
 হাতিয়ার থুইয়া আইসা মিলুক আমারে ॥
 উকিল আসিয়া তবে कहিলেন তাকে ।
 হাতিয়ার থুইয়া যাইয়া মিল নবাবকে ॥
 আলি ভাই যাইলা তবে হাতিয়ার থুইয়া ।
 পঁচিশ ঘোড়া সূদ্ধা মিলিল আসিয়া ॥
 নবাব বোলে তুমি আইলা কি কারণ ।
 আলি ভাই বোলে বন্দোবস্তের কারণ ॥
 ভাস্করের সাথে বিবাদ কেনে কর ।
 দুইজনাতে মিইলা কিছু বন্দোবস্ত কর ॥

sent to him my agent for similar purposes. If he had a mind to make peace with me he would certainly have sent his own representative to me at that time. I regret he means otherwise. He sacked and pillaged my territory over and over again. Now what terms of compromise does he propose for an amicable settlement ?”

Ali Bhāi—“ Let bygones, be bygones. You need not now rake up the past any more. Please grant me two of your chiefs with me and I will bring Bhāskar to you at this place.”

The Nawab accordingly ordered two of his principal officers to accompany Ali Bhāi and bring Bhāskar before him. So the two Sirdars Janakiram and Mustafa Khan

তবে নবাব সাহেব বুলিলেন তারে ।
ভাস্কর আসিয়া নাকি মিলিবে আমারে ॥
জে সময় পূর্বের ঘেইরাছিল বর্দ্ধমানে ।
সে সমএ উকিল আমি পাঠাইলাম তার স্থানে ॥
বন্দোবস্ত করিতে যদি থাকিত তার মনে ।
সেই সমএ উকিল পাঠাইত আমার স্থানে ॥
মূলুক পোড়াইল লুটিল বারবার ।
কাঁউয়ার সঙ্গে বন্দোবস্ত করিব আর ॥
আলি ভাই বোলে যাহা হবার তা হৈল ।
কদাচিত উকথা মুখে আর না বুইল ॥
দুই সরদার তুমি দেহ আমার সনে ।
ভাস্করকে মিলাইয়া আনি এই স্থানে ॥
তবে নবাব সাহেব কহিল দু জনারে ।
আলি ভাইএর সঙ্গে যাইয়া আন ভাস্করে ॥
জানকীরাম মুস্তফা থা দুজনে চলিল ।
কাটোঞায় যাইয়া ভাস্করকে মিলিল ॥

started and duly reached Bhāskar's camp at Katwa. Ali Bhāi reported to Bhāskar of the arrival of Janakiram and Mustafa Khan as messengers coming from the Nawab to accompany Bhāskar in his interview with the Nawab.

Fol. six, reverse.

At this news Meer Habib gave his opinion that on no account Bhāskar should visit the camp of the Nawab. "Please consider about the treacherous plans of the Moghuls," said Meer Habib. "If you listen to my advice, please do not go." At this Mustafa Khan said, "Why do you say so? We two (Mustafa Khan and Janakiram) shall take him to the Nawab's camp and shall duly escort him back to this place after making necessary preparations for his journey. If you still hesitate then let me touch my sacred Koran and swear about it."

ভাস্করকে আলিভাই কহিতে লাগিল ।
 মুস্তফা থা জানকীরাম দুইজনাএ আইল ॥
 নবাব সাহেব পাঠাইল দুই জনারে ।
 সঙ্গে কইরা লইয়া জাইয়া মিলাবে তোমারে ॥
 এতেক শুনিয়া তবে মির হবিব কয় ।
 কদাচিত ভাস্করকে জাইতে মত নএ ॥
 মির হবিব কিছু তবে কহে ভাস্করে ।
 কদাচিত জাইয়া তুমি না মিল তাহারে ॥
 মোগলের ফের তুমি করিবা মোনসুবা ।
 আমার কথা শুন যদি কদাচিত না যাবা ॥
 তবে মুস্তফা থা কহিতে লাগিলা ।
 এতেক কথা তুমি কেনে কহিলা ॥
 আমরা দুই জনাএ তবে সঙ্গে কইরা নিব ।
 বন্দোবস্ত কইরা পুন এইখানে আনিব ॥

What he said he did and Janakiram also took oath by touching the sacred water of the Ganges and the holy symbol, the Sālgrām. Janakiram said to Bhāskar,—“Please do not be afraid of any foul stratagem. We two shall again bring you back here hale and hearty.” When Bhāskar heard Janakiram, he replied, “All right, I agree.” On this Mustafa Khan said,—“Then let us start immediately.” Bhāskar said, “How many armed men shall I take with me as my body-guard?”

Janakiram replied, “As many as you like.” Ali Bhāi said, “There is no need of taking any guard at all. However, take only ten or twelve men with you.” At the time of one’s fall, people forget what is right and what is wrong. So Bhāskar was allured by the persuasive tongue of Ali Bhāi.

On Friday, the first of Baisākh, Bhāskar started to meet the Nawab. Only twenty-two men including Ali

কিছু কিন্তু জদি মনে কর তুমি ।
কোরাণ দরমান কইরা কিরা খাইছি আমি ॥
জানকীরাম কহে গঙ্গাজল সালগ্রাম লইয়া ।
কিছু চিন্তা নাই তোমাকে আনিব মিলাইয়া ॥
এতেক শুনিয়া ভাস্কর বোলে ভাল ভাল ।
মুস্তাফা থা বোলে তবে শীঘ্র কইরা চল ॥
ভাস্কর বোলে সাথে ফৌজ নিব কত ।
জানকীরাম বোলে তোমার মনে লয় জত ॥
আলি ভাই বোলে ফৌজে নাহি কাম ।
জন দশ বারো লোক সঙ্গে কইরা জান ॥
মিষ্ট কাল হইলে যেন মতিচ্ছন্ন পাএ ।
আলি ভাইএর কথায় ভাস্কর ভুইলা যাএ ॥

Bhāi accompanied the Maratha chief. That night Bhāskar halted at Plassey and resumed his march for the Nawab's camp the next morning.

Now, hear what passed in the camp of the Nawab. A Harkarā (courier) reported to the Nawab that Bhāskar was coming. This piece of information led the Nawab to call in a council. Sirdar Sotābardār Khan (literally he who was in charge of the royal mace, the symbol of authority) stood in front of the Nawab and all the big Jemadars took their seats around him (the Nawab). It was the second day of Baisākh and Saturday. This was the day on which Bhāskar was presented before the Nawab. When Providence is adverse one's power of judgment becomes clouded. So Bhāskar forgot to bring his arms with him when he came to interview the Nawab.¹ As soon as

প্রথমে বৈশাখ মাস শুক্রবার দিনে ।
ভাস্কর চলিল মিলিতে নবাবের সনে ॥
আলি ভাই আদি করি বাইস জনা যাইল ।
পলাসি যাসিঞা ভাস্কর ডেরায় থাকিল ॥
তার পরদিনে ভাস্কর করিল গমন ।
এথা নবাব লইয়া কিছু শুন বিবরণ ॥
হরকরা বোলে নবাবকে ভাস্কর যাইসে ।
এতেক শুনিয়া নবাব সভা কৈরা বৈসে ॥
সোটা বর্দার খা সর্দার নবাবের আগে ।
বড় বড় জমাদার বসিলা চাইর দিগে ।
দুসরঞা বৈশাখ মাস শনিবার দিনে ।
ভাস্করকে লইয়া আইল নবাবের স্থানে ॥

¹ The assertion that Bhāskar interviewed Aliverdy unarmed does not tally with the version of Mutkherin. The Bengali poem

Bhaskar Pandit and the Nawab mutually met, the latter said :—

“ You plundered my territory again and again. At last it was due to Ali Bhāi that you now desire to come to terms.¹ When you had previously besieged Burdwan, I sent to you my agent (for an amicable settlement). If you were of the same mind with me you might have sent also your agent to me at the time.”

Ali Bhāi replied :—

“ What was done, was done. As Bhāskar Pandit has now himself approached you, it is proper to settle terms with him.”

বিখাতা বিপত্য হইল বুধ্য গুইলা গেল ।
হাতিয়ার থুইয়া আইসা নবাবকে মিলিল ॥
ভাস্কর পশ্চিমত জদি মিলিল নবাবকে ।
তারপরে নবাব কহেন কিছু তাকে ॥

and the Mutkherin both agree about the number of officers, *e.g.*, twenty-two, who visited Aliverdy. But Mutkherin further says that the number of men which actually accompanied Bhāskar was not twenty-two but fifty and adds a few lines by way of explanation, thus :—

“ At this moment about fifty officers that preceded Bha-sukur, having alighted, came within the tent, all armed, and this precaution of theirs was coloured by the pretence of their being intended to swear to the performance of articles of agreement, which they would do upon their sabres. Amongst these were two-and-twenty commanders of eminence and character ; the others were amongst those persons called Amnies in India, who on the others advancing, advanced likewise, but stopped within the tent-yard.

S. Mutkherin, Vol. I, p. 434.

¹ Prof. Samaddar's version is as follows :—“ You sent Ali Bhāi to settle with me.”

On this the Nawab smiled and asked the permission of those present to leave the Durbar for a little while.

That was the signal previously made known to all of the Nawab's party present there, and accordingly the Nawab left the place.

He did not turn up though a long time passed by. On this Bhāskar Pandit made a query to Mustafa Khan :—¹

“Now two dandas (48 minutes) have elapsed since the Nawab had left us. It is now time for me to bathe and worship my tutelary deity.”

আমার মলুক তুমি লুটিল। বারেবারে ।
বন্দোবস্ত করিতে পাঠাইলা আলি ভাইএর তরে ॥
যে কালে আসিয়া তুমি ঘেরিলা বর্দ্ধমানে ।
সে সমএ উকিল আমি পাঠাইলাম তোমার স্থানে ॥
বন্দোবস্ত করিতে যদি থাকিত তোমার মনে ।
সেই সময় উকিল তুমি পাঠাইতে আমার স্থানে ॥
তবে এতেক শুনিয়া ভাই আলি কহিল ।
এতদিন জাহা হবার তাহা হইল ॥
ভাস্কর পণ্ডিত যদি মিলে তোমার সনে ।
কিছু দিঞা বন্দোবস্ত কর ইহার সনে ॥
এতেক শুনিয়া নবাব কহিলেন হাসি ।
খানিক বিলম্ব কর লঘ্য কইরা আসি ॥
পূর্বের সভারি মনস্থবা ছিল ।
সেই মনস্থবাএ নবাব উঠা গেল ॥

¹ The Nawab's speech together with a few lines showing the designing attitude of the Nawab was not translated by Prof. Samaddar.

Mustafa Khan replied :—

“ Let us then all go together. We shall all return again by the last ‘Prahar’ (quarter) of the day.”

Mustafa Khan then rose up and seeing this Bhāskar Pandit also got up. No sooner had Bhāskar attempted to mount his horse than some one¹ from behind drew his sword and instantaneously cut him to pieces. Just then and there a scuffle ensued and the Bargis who came there were killed to a man.

After this occurrence, the Nawab heard everything in detail and his joy knew no bounds. There was music

নবাব উঠিয়া গেল হইল অনেকক্ষণ ।
ভাস্কর পণ্ডিত কিছু কহেন তখন ॥
দুই ডগু বিলম্ব হইল কহে মুস্তাফার ঠাই ।
এখন তবে আমি সান পূজাএ জাই ॥
মুস্তফা থা বোলে চলো সভাই মিলে জাই ।
সে পহরিতে আসিব নবাবের ঠাই ॥
এতেক বুলিয়া মুস্তফা থা উঠিল ।
তাহার দেখনে তবে ভাস্কর উঠিল ॥
জেই মাত্র ভাস্কর ঘোড়ায় চড়িতে ।
তলোয়ার খুলিয়া তখন মারিলেক তাথে ॥
সেইক্ষণে তবে ঘটচট্টি হইল ।
জত জনা যাইসা ছিল সব জনা মইল ॥
তারপরে নবাব সাহেব সমাচার শুনে ।
শুনি যানন্দিত নবাব হইল সেই ক্ষণে ॥
সাদিয়ানা নহবৎ কত বাজিতে লাগিল ।
ফকির ফুকুরাকে খএরাত কত দিল ॥

¹ The author of S. Mutkherin gives the name as Mir-Cazem-Qhan.—S. Mutkherin, Vol. I, pp. 434-35.

of the 'Sādiānā Nahabat' (*i.e.*, music of the mounted band). The Nawab made suitable gifts to Fakirs and sundry other people. Bhāskar was killed at Monkarā. The poet Gangaram here finished this part of his story in accordance with his plan.

(*The Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa, First Canto, defeat of Bhāskar finished. Dated Saturday, the 14th Pousa, 1672 Saka, 1158 B.S.*)

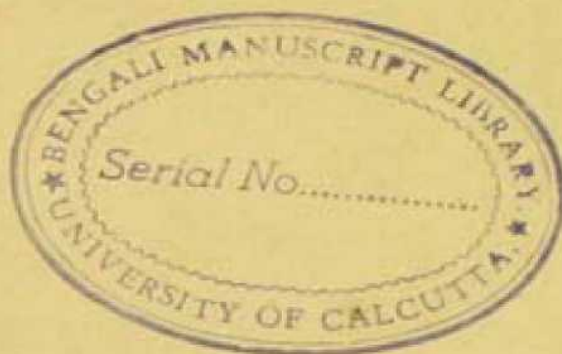
মোনকরা মোকামে জদি ভাস্কর মইল ।

মনসুবাদ উড়াইয়া কবি গঙ্গারাম কইল ॥

ইতি মহারাষ্ট্র পুরাণে প্রথম কাণ্ডে ভাস্কর পরাভব । সকাব্দা ১৬৭২,
সন ১১৫৮ সাল ॥ তারিখ ১৪ পৌস, রোজ শনিবার ॥

THE END.

RAJA GANESH



BY

T. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

*[Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of
Letters, Vol. XXIII.]*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1933

RAJA GANESH

BY

TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

In the list of patrons who befriended our Bengali literature at different periods of its history the name of Raja Ganesh somehow found a place. It has been stated that it was at his court, that our first great poet Krittivāsa appeared and received the royal command to compose his epoch-making poem. The name of Raja Ganesh on account of his association with the popular poet of Bengal is of special interest to scholars, who have been trying to solve the mystery encircling his life.

In this connection the first point that comes across the mind for consideration is whether Raja Ganesh and Danujmardan were one and the same person or two entirely different persons. There is a considerable difference¹ of opinion, however, amongst scholars on this matter.

Our first attempt would naturally be to sift the evidence of the old Bengali literature with a view to throw all available light on this point.

(a) In the autobiography of Krittivāsa the following two lines occur :—

¹ Among those who consider Raja Ganesh and Danujmardan as one and the same person we may mention Messrs. Stapleton, Nalini K. Bhattasali, Nagendra Nath Vasu and Dr. Dingah Chandra Sen. Among those who believe in separate identity the most prominent are Messrs. Rakhal Das Banerjee and Nikhilnath Ray.

পূৰ্বেতে আছিল বেদানুজ মহারাজা ।

তাহার পাত্র ছিল নরসিংহ ওঝা ॥

—কৃষ্ণিবাসী রামায়ণ, কৃষ্ণিবাসের আত্মচরিত ।

(Once there was a king named Bedanuja. His minister was Narasingha Ojha.—

(The autobiography of Krittivāsa in his Rāmāyaṇa.)

Dr. D. C. Sen and others of his line of thought consider that 'Bedānuja' is a mis-reading, the letter "বে" has been read as "বৈ." They hold that it should be "Ye Danuja" ("যে দনুজ"). The name of Danujmardan has been according to this view mentioned in the famous Ramayana of Krittivāsa.

(b) In the celebrated Vaishnava work Bhaktiratnākara (written in Bengali) we find a Sanskrit quotation from the Laghutosini of Jiba Goswami, which contains the name of Danujmardan Deva :—

ততোদনুজমর্দন ক্ষিতিপূজ্যপাদঃ ।

ক্রমাদ্বাস নবহট্টকে স কিল পদ্মনাভকৃতি ।

—ভক্তিরত্নাকর ।

(That person of consequence, Padmanābha, gradually settled at Nabahatta and became honoured by the king Danujmardan.—

Bhaktiratnākara.)

N.B.—Nabahatta seems to be the famous village Naihati near Katowa and not the Naihati (E. B. Ry.) near Calcutta. Padmanābha was the forefather of Jiba Goswami. There is scarcely any other reference to Danujmardan in old Bengali literature (so far as our information goes), but the coins, on the contrary, of Danuj are found, while there is no numismatic evidence directly about Ganesh anywhere up till now. This fact is significant, no doubt.

Now, so far as the name of Ganesh is concerned the following references are important :—

- (a) প্রভাকরের পুত্র নরসিংহ নাড়িয়াল ।
গণেশ রাজার মন্ত্রী লোকে ঘোষে সর্বকাল ॥

—প্রেমবিলাস (নিত্যানন্দদাস বিরচিত),
চতুর্বিংশ বিলাস, পৃ: ২৮৪ ।

(Narasingha Nāriāl, son of Prabhākar, was always known as the minister of Raja Ganesh.—

Prembilās by Nityānanda Das,¹
24 Vilas, p. 284.)

N. B.—Mr. Nagendranath Vasu's version of the Sadānanda-Kārikā contains the name of one Prabhākar who was the great-grandfather of Raja Ganesh.

- (b) দৈবে শ্রীহট্ট হৈতে শ্রীগণেশ রাজা ।
নরসিংহ নাড়িয়ালে করিলেক পূজা ॥

—প্রেমবিলাস, চতুর্বিংশ বিলাস, পৃ: ২৮৪ ।

(Fate brought Narasingha Nāriāl from Sylhet to the presence of Raja Ganesh who honoured him.—

Prembilās by Nityānanda Das,
24th Vilas, p. 284.)

N.B.—According to Adwait-Prakās 1329 Saka or 1407 A.D. was the date of the conquest of Gaur by Ganesh.

¹ The genuineness of the four vilāsas after the 20th is rightly doubted by many, and as such the references about the various Brahmin sub-castes found in the 24th vilāsa may be considered as spurious. Still I made use of the above two references for our present purpose.

- (c) যেই নরসিংহ নাড়িয়াল বলি খ্যাত ।
 সিন্ধ শ্রোত্রিয়াখ্য আরু ওঝার বংশজাত ।
 যেই নরসিংহযশ ঘোষে ত্রিভুবন ।
 সর্বশাস্ত্রে সুপণ্ডিত অতি বিচক্ষণ ॥
 ষাঁহার মন্ত্রণাবলে শ্রীগণেশ রাজা ।
 গোড়ের বাদসাহ মারি গোড়ের হৈল রাজা ॥
 ষাঁর কন্যা বিবাহে হয় কাপের উৎপত্তি ।
 লাউর প্রদেশে হয় ষাঁহার বসতি ॥

—অদ্বৈত প্রকাশ (ঈশান নাগর কৃত) ।

(He, who was known as Narasingha Nāriāl and belonged to 'Siddha-Srotriya' Brahmin family of Aru Ojha—he, whose fame spreads through the three worlds and who was versed in all the Sāstras and very intelligent—he, whose advise made it possible for Ganesh to become the Raja at Gaur by killing the Bādsāha of Gaur and the marriage of whose daughter occasioned the family of Kāps—he, whose home was the locality of Lāur, etc., etc.

Adwait-Prakās by Ishān Nāgar.)

(d) Besides the above, the Sanskrit work known as "Bālya-Lilā Sutra" (by Lāuriā Krishnadās) which deals with the early life of Adwaitāchāryya mentions incidentally of Raja Ganesh as follows :—

শ্রীমান নৃসিংহস্য মহাত্মনো বৈ
 যশঃপ্রসূনে স্মৃতিতে মনোজ্ঞ ।
 তৎসৌরভব্যাহবিমোহিতাত্মা
 রাজা গণেশো বহুশাস্ত্রদর্শী ।
 সর্বশাস্ত্রে^১ বিজরাজকল্পে
 বেদজ্ঞঃসদ্বিপ্রসমাশ্রয়োয়ঃ ।

^১ This 'সর্বশাস্ত্রে' becomes 'কারস্থশৈলে' in 'বগড়ার ইতিহাস' written by Pravas Chandra Dev Barman, a Kayastha.

দুইশত শাস্ত্রা কিল সাধুপালো
 দাতা গুণজ্ঞ হরিভক্তচূড়ঃ ।^১
 দূতৈস্তমানীয় চ রাজধান্যাং
 দিনাজপুরাণ্যে বহুসভ্যযুক্তে ।
 তস্মিন্‌নৃসিংহে বহুনীতাভিজ্ঞে
 সংশ্লিষ্ট মন্ত্রিষ মবাপ ভদ্রম্ ।
 তদ্ব্যক্তিচাতুর্য্যাবলেন রাজা
 শ্রীমদগনেশো বরদস্ত্যরূপান্ ।
 গোড়স্তপালান্ যবনাস্বজান্ হি
 জিহ্বা চ গোড়েঋরতামবাপ ।
 গ্রহপক্ষাদ্বিশশধৃতিমিতে শাকে স্রবুদ্ধিমান্ ।
 গণেশো যবনং জিহ্বা গোড়েঋকচ্ছত্রধৃগভূং ।

—শ্রীবাল্যলীলাসূত্র (লাউড়িয়া কৃষ্ণদাস কৃত),
 ১ম সর্গ, শ্রীঅচ্যুতচরণ চৌধুরী তত্ত্বনিধি
 সম্পাদিত, ১১ পৃষ্ঠা ।

The meaning of the whole piece is—Raja Ganesh, who was well-versed in all the Sāstras, was charmed with the fame of the great Nrisingha. Therefore, the king,—who belonged to good lineage and was its chief representative (*lit.* like the moon shining over the cliff of lineage), who was well-versed in the lore of the Vedas, who was the supporter of all good Brahmins, who was the punisher of all evil-doers, who was the maintainer of all good men, who was charitably disposed, who was the appreciator of all deserving men, who was the most devout (*lit.* pinnacle) among all the devotees of God

^১ It is peculiar that while at this place we find the epithet of Ganesh as 'হরিভক্তচূড়ঃ,' i.e., a very staunch devotee of the God Hari (and therefore he was a Vaishnava) we again find about Danujmardan the epithet of 'চণ্ডীচরণপরায়ণঃ,' i.e., "a worshipper of the Goddess Chandi"; this may be accounted for by the fact that Bengal in those days of great religious toleration, had worshippers who paid their tribute of devotion to all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon.

Hari—brought Nrisingha to his capital at Dinajpur which was full of courtiers. That good Nrisingha, who was an adept in politics, was given the post of a minister by the king. It was the crafty policy of Nrisingha which made it possible for Ganesh to secure victory over the freebooting Mahomedans who were rulers of Gaur, and attain the position of the Lord of Gaur. It was in 1329 Saka (1407 A.D.) that clever Ganesh defeated the Mahomedan ruler and became the undisputed ruler over Gaur.

Sri Bālyalilā-Sūtra by Lāuriā Krishnadās,
1st Canto, 11th page. Edited by Achyutacharan Chaudhuri.

The above quotations provide us with the names of Danujmardan and Ganesh. If it may be shown that they were contemporary then, of course, this evidence will go a great way in proving their identity as one person. Besides if it may be proved that a certain individual was courtier in the courts of both of them, then, surely Danuj and Ganesh will be taken as one and the same person. Circumstantial evidence may also help us in this direction.

N.B.—The late Mr. Rakhal Das Banerjee believed in separate identity¹ and maintained that Danuj was a feudatory chief in 1417 A.D. during the time of Jadu and earned the epithet of Danujmardan due to his hostility to the Mahomedans. Both Mr. Banerjee and his opponents agreed so far as numismatic evidences about the dates go, but arrived at quite different conclusions as regards the identity of Ganesh with Danujmardan. The critics with the rival theory believed that Ganesh himself adopted the name of

¹ According to Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali, Mr. Rakhal Das Banerjee latterly changed his opinion and was in favour of identifying Danuj with Ganesh. See *পঞ্চদশ*, ২০০৭ B. S., in which he refutes the argument of Mr. Nikhil N. Ray whose article appeared in *পঞ্চদশ*, বালুনা, ১০০৮ B. S.

Danujmardan after destroying the Mahomedan rule of Gaur. The word "Danuj" may here be taken to mean the Mahomedans and the term "Mardan" means "destroyer." So the word quite fits the theory of Ganesh being taken as Danujmardan. Although Ferishta was of opinion that Ganesh favoured the Mahomedans, Riaz held a quite different view. Yet, it may be surmised that his very fight with the Mahomedans for the throne of Gaur might have prompted him to issue coins in that name (Danujmardan). The dates of the coins issued by Danujmardan and those by Jadu are the sources of great puzzle. Some coins of both are almost contemporary while no coin in the name of Ganesh has yet been found. The temporary occupation of the throne by Jadu during the life-time of his father Ganesh, if it ever happened, may partly explain the problem. The real difficulty with Ganesh and Danujmardan is that coins of the latter are profusely found even in the remote districts of Chittagong, Maldah and Subarnagram, and even the coins of Jadu are found in numbers, but not a single coin in the name of Ganesh has yet been discovered.

Before drawing any conclusion, let us first mention here the genealogies of some persons who were connected with either Danuj or Ganesh.

1. The genealogy of Krittivās :—

Narasingha Ojhā (settled at Fulia and became a minister of Raja Danujmardan)

Garveswar

Murāri

Suryya

Govinda

Banamāli (married Mālīni)

Krittivās (born between 1432 to 1444 A.D.,—opinion of Mr. Jogeshchandra Ray).

2. Adwaitācharyya's genealogy :—

Narasingha Nāriāl (a minister to Raja Ganesh).

Chhakari

Kuver Pandit

Kamalākanta (Kamalākara Chakravarti or Adwaitāchāryya or Sadāsiva—He was originally an inhabitant of Lāur in Sylhet and was born in 1434 A.D. or 52 years before Chaitanya Deva).

3. Padmanābha's genealogy :—

Jagat Guru (a king of Karnāta in the Deccan, reigned till 1414 A.D.)

Aniruddha (died in 1416 A.D.).

Rupeswara

Harihara

(He came to Bengal and became a minister. He died in 1433 A.D.)

Padmanābha (He was honoured by Raja Danujmardan and built a house at Navahatta or Naihati near Katowa).

Purusottama

Jagannātha

Nārāyana

Murari

Mukunda

Kumāra Deva (settled temporarily at Backerganj.)

Sanātana

Rupa

Ballava

(*alias* Anupama.
Jiva Goswami,
his son, born
1513 A.D.).

(4) Remarks about the genealogies :—

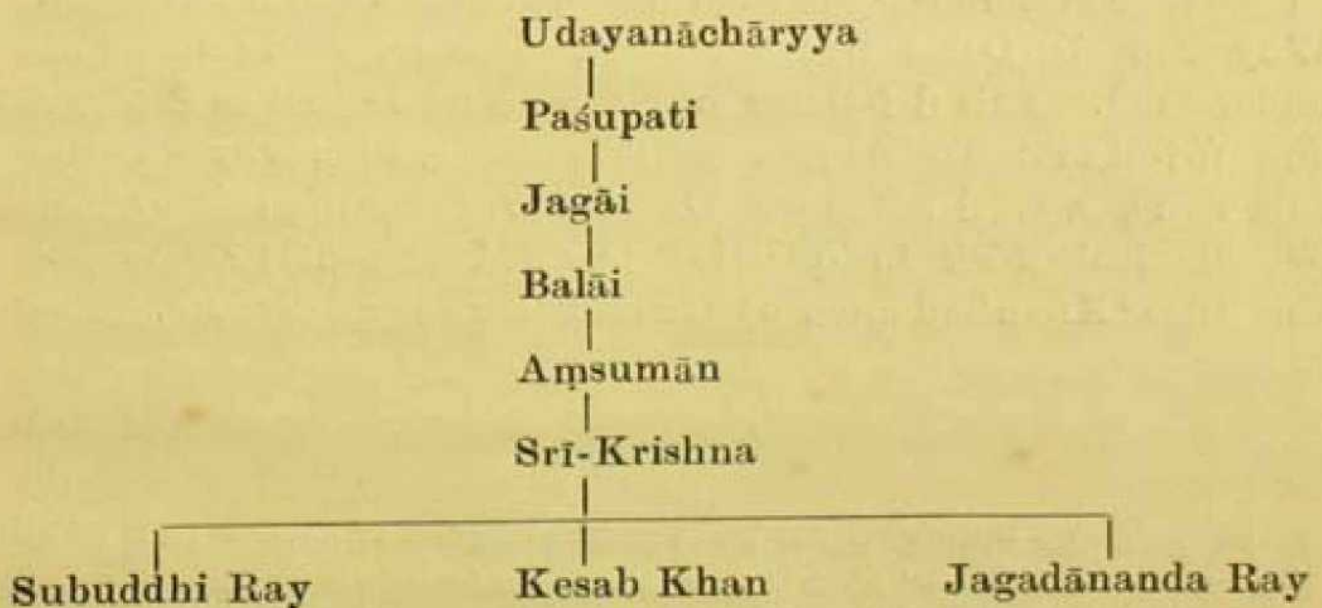
From the above genealogical tables as well as quotations it may be seen that Raja Ganesh had one minister named Narasingha Nāriāl whose politic advice was responsible for the upset of the Islamic rule in Bengal for a brief period. Again, it may also be seen that Raja Danujmardan had two ministers, *e.g.*, Padmanābha and Narasingha Ojhā. The home of Narasingha Nāriāl was at Santipur while that of Narasingha Ojhā was at Fulia—an adjacent village. Besides, the home of Padmanābha was at Nabahatta or Naihati, not very far from Katowa in the District of Burdwan. The genealogical tables will clearly show that Narasingha Ojhā and Narasingha Nāriāl as well as Padmanābha were contemporary. In spite of some discrepancy of the dates of Danuj, Ganesh and Jadu and conflicting opinions chiefly on the basis of stray numismatic evidence, we are inclined to say that on the basis of literary evidence Narasingha Nāriāl and Narasingha Ojhā were surely contemporary and as such, Danuj and Ganesh were also contemporary. Now, if we accept the proposition that Ganesh occupied the throne of Gaud and became a powerful king then how another prince named Danuj could rule with power, side by side, in the same period with minister and court not very far from Gaur (rather to the opposite bank of the Ganges) and yet not mentioned profusely in Bengali literature, while Ganesh is repeatedly mentioned with respect in this literature? If Ganesh and Danuj were two monarchs then such a state of things would no doubt be absurd. Under the circumstances we have got no option, so far as the evidence of the Bengali Literature goes, but to accept Ganesh and Danuj as one and the same person and that is the reason why coins in the name of Ganesh is not found. It seems that Danujmardan was the title of Ganesh after his occupation of the throne of Gaur by killing the Mahomedan sovereign. Now, some people think that Narasingha Ojhā and Narasingha

Nāriāl were one and the same person. It is surely not so. Narasingha Nāriāl was a Barendra Brahmin of Srotriya (Non-Kulin) family while Narasingha Ojhā was a Rāḍhi Brahmin of Fulia, the village giving rise to the name of a special class (gāin) of Rāḍhi Mukherjee Kulin Brahmins. Besides, the home of the former was originally at Naruli in Sylhet (in the easternmost corner of East Bengal) and later on at Santipur (in the Nuddea District of West Bengal) while the latter (*e.g.*, Narasingha Ojhā) hailed from Fateabad Perganah (in the District of Backerganj) and later on settled at Fulia (also in Nuddea District) by the side of the Ganges and near Santipur. The forefathers of Padmanābha also hailed from different places and he settled finally at Naihati near Katowa (Murshidabad District) coming from Backerganj side. Under the circumstances Narasingha Ojhā and Narasingha Nāriāl must be taken as different persons and on the basis of literary and genealogical evidences, all three, *e.g.*, Narasingha Nāriāl, Narasingha Ojhā and Padmanābha (the forefather of Jiba Goswami who belonged to the Kaṇṇāta Brahmin family) were separate but nevertheless contemporary persons.

Further, Danuj had ministers (*e.g.* Padmanābha and Narasingha Ojhā) one of which (*e.g.*, Narasingha Ojhā) lived in the neighbourhood of the residence of Narasingha Nāriāl who was the minister of Ganesh. If Danuj and Ganesh were separate persons then of course the two ministers of two powerful and contemporary sovereigns were living side by side. This idea of different personalities of Danuj and Ganesh, is far from tenable from circumstantial evidence. Ganesh was a pillar of the Barendra Brahmin society and as such performed yeoman's service to his community with the help of his able minister Narasingha Nāriāl while Danuj with the help of his Rāḍhi Brahmin minister (*e.g.*, Narasingha Ojhā) could also do the same and surely the literature on social subjects would not pass this unnoticed. But there are no such records to prove this. So from various viewpoints we have

no alternative but to accept the proposition that Danuj and Ganesh were one and the same person with at least three principal ministers, *e.g.*, Narasingha Nāriāl, Narasingha Ojhā and Padmanābha.

From the genealogical and other records it is evident that Krittivās could not be present in the court of Raja Ganesh or Danuj mentioned above. Krittivās possibly attended the court of Raja Kamsanārāyaṇ of Tahirpur (Rajshahi District).¹ About the courtiers of Gaureswar as mentioned by Krittivās it may be said from the authority of গোড়ে ব্রাহ্মণ that শ্রীবৎস or really শ্রীকৃষ্ণ was sister's husband to Raja Kamsanārāyaṇ. Sri-Krishna's sons were Subuddhi Ray, Kesab Khan, and Jagadānanda Ray which may be shown from the genealogical table below :—



¹ By the by, our mind should be disabused of the theory that Krittivās, a descendant of Narasingha Ojhā, attended the court of Raja Ganesh.

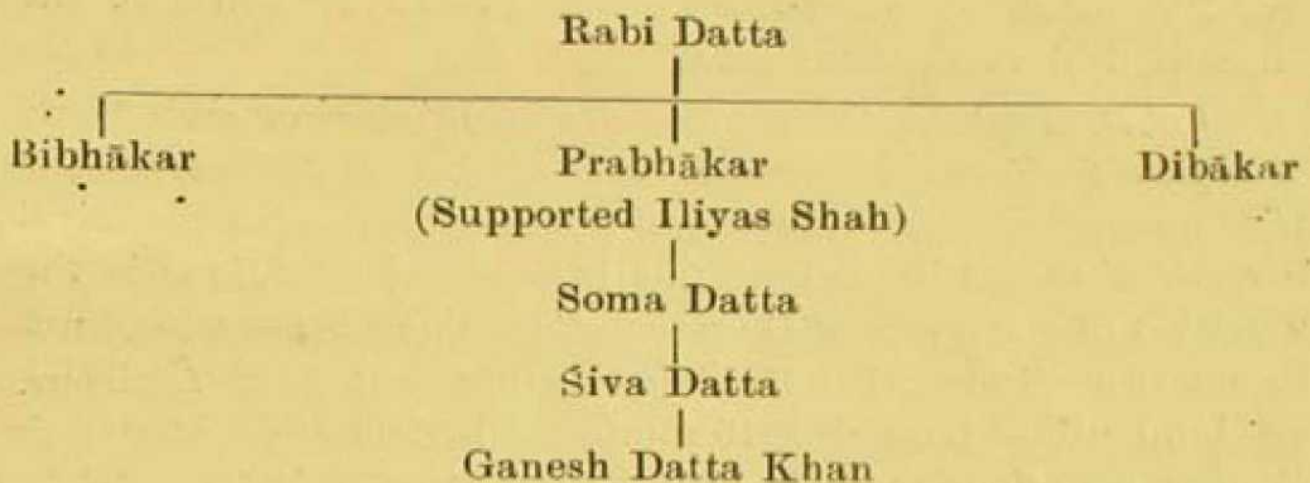
The genealogical records point to Kamsanārāyaṇ and further mentions the names of Jagadānanda and Kedar Ray (or Khan). Thus, there is no doubt that Krittivās visited the court of the powerful chief Kamsanārāyaṇ whose title of "Gaureswara" as given

As for the name "Datta Khan" the credit of its discovery and identification with the name "Ganesh" chiefly rests with Mr. Nagendranath Vasu. We learn from him that the genealogical work of the Rāḍhi Brahmins named Mahāvamśa by Dhrubānanda Miśra (a book of great authority so far as the Rāḍhi Brahmin genealogy is concerned) mentions a powerful chief named Śrī-Datta Khan who could be no other than Ganesh and whom Mr. Vasu styled fully as Ganesh Datta Khan. He supports his view by saying that another genealogical work named Sadānanda Kārikā (a book of high authority with the 'Uttar Rāḍhiya' Kāyastha families) mentions the name Ganesh Datta Khan. To Mr. Vasu Śrī-Datta and Ganesh Datta are synonymous, and incidentally he tries to prove that Ganesh, who had been known so long as a Barendra Brahmin, was not so, but a Kāyastha by caste. We cannot follow the line of argument of Mr. Vasu. Śrī-Datta might only be a contemporary of (and not identical with) Śrī Ganesh. Why can Śrī-Datta be not taken as a name, we do not at all understand. This Śrī-Datta might be a name just as Śrī-Pati and Śrī-Manta are names. If it is a title, then why was the full name, *e.g.*, Śrī Ganesh Datta never mentioned by the genealogical work in question (*e.g.*, Mahāvamśa)? As for the title 'Khan' adopted by Ganesh there is no dispute. The

by his panegyrist Krittivās was once very common for any powerful chief to secure. It is this title of "Gaureśwara" which is mainly responsible for the wrong surmise that Raja Ganesh was the patron of Krittivās. Thus Krittivās seems to have flourished partly in the 15th and partly in the 16th century.

Among those who believe Raja Kapsanārāyan as the patron of Krittivās we may specially mention Mr. Kaliprasanna Banerjee and Pandit Rajanikanta Chakravarti; see "Madhya yuger Bānglā", pp. 11, 25, 26 by K. P. Banerjee and "Gauder Itihas," part II, p. 213, ed. 1909 by R. Chakravarti. See also the Introduction to the Descriptive Catalogue, Bengali MSS., C. U., Vol. 1. But Dr. D. C. Sen is doubtful of this conclusion. According to him Kapsanārāyan belongs to a later period than that of Krittivās. Kapsanārāyan, he believes along with others, to belong to the 16th century.

genealogical list as given in Sadānanda-Kārikā is mentioned below :—



This genealogy is incomplete as it does not go to mention the names of the successor or successors of Ganesh Datta Khan and as such does not stand the test of sifting enquiry. The contention that no two "Gaureswaras" like Ganesh and Datta Khan were possible at the same date is baseless as this appellation was given by the court parasites in the past to any considerable landlord from whom they got any benefit of importance. To construct Śrī-Datta as Śrī Ganesh is only a favourite theory with Mr. Vasu which, we regret, we cannot endorse. Incidentally let us mention that Durgachandra Sanyal quoted a few letters (pp. 78-82) of the family of Ganesh in which it was distinctly mentioned that Ganesh was a Brahmin, but, of course, where did he find those letters we do not know. Ganesh has long been regarded as a Barendra Brahmin and Zaminder of Bhāturiā Parganah (Dt. Dinajpur) who occupied the throne of Gaur by killing Sam-suddin II about which incident we sufficiently discussed hereafter. Besides the Datta Khan theory, Mr. Vasu has also speculated upon another person, Mahendra Deva. For many years Mr. Vasu constructed one theory after another about this Mahendra Deva. However, he has recently fallen in line with the numismatic evidence, and we are happy

to remark, that he at last believes that Mahendra Deva was neither the father nor the younger brother of Ganesh, but the son who is otherwise known as Jadu or Jitmalla and succeeded him to the throne.¹

[N.B. Besides the two names Danujmardan and Daṭṭa Khan we find another name Kāns used by Abul Fazel. The last name has been long ago put to the test of historical investigation and it has been finally accepted that Kāns is the variation of the name of Ganesh. Care should be taken not to confuse Kāns with Kamsanārāyaṇ, the Raja of Tahirpur, an influential Barendra Brahmin and Zaminder of North Bengal, who flourished about 150 years after Raja Ganesh.]

In discussing the date of Raja Ganesh let us first give the following genealogical table from numismatic sources.

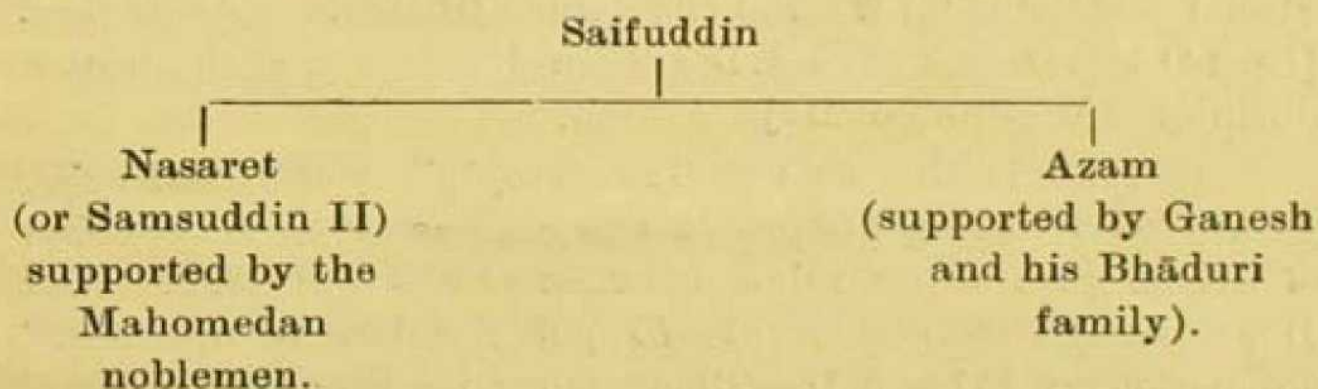
Azam Shah (reigned 1392-1409 or 1410 A.D.)
 |
 Saifuddin Hamza Shah
 |
 Sihabuddin Bayazid Shah.
 |
 Alauddin Feroz Shah

But according to Rajanikanta Chakravarti, the writer of গৌড়ের ইতিহাস who follows Riyaz, Saifuddin Abul Mujahid Hamza Shah reigned from 1393 to 1402 A.D. He was followed by Samsuddin II whom Ganesh, the Zaminder of Bhāturīā in Dinajpur district, dethroned, or according to some, killed in 1405 A.D. and reigned as king till 1414 A.D. Samsuddin, writes Mr. Chakravarti, reigned only for 3 years 4 months and 6 days. This writer chiefly follows Riyaz. But he refers to a puzzle. The coin of Sultan Sahabuddin Abul Muzaffar Bayazid Shah does not contain the name of his father, as is the common practice.

¹ According to Mr. H. E. Stapleton Mahendra Deva might be a brother of Jadu.

Now, according to Rajanikanta Chakravarti and his authority Riyaz-us-Salatin, Saifuddin was followed by Samsuddin II, while according to the coins, Saifuddin was succeeded by Bayazid. The writer does not seem to be aware of the numismatic evidence and cannot definitely ascertain who was the father of Bayazid. Mr. Chakravarti surmises that Bayazid might have been Raja Ganesh himself. But he also quotes Blochman, who thinks on the contrary that Bayazid was only the nominal sovereign while Raja Ganesh was probably all-powerful in the state during his reign.

Another writer on the subject, *viz.*, Durgachandra Sanyal, in his বঙ্গের সামাজিক ইতিহাস gives the following genealogical list :—



According to this writer Nasaret, the son of Saifuddin by his second wife, was older than Azam, the son by his first wife. There was naturally a dynastic struggle which is described at length by the writer and in which, according to him, the Bhāduris (Ganesh's family) participated.

Sihabuddin Bayazid Shah was Samsuddin II (Iliyas Shah, the founder of the dynasty, being Samsuddin I) according to Minhazuddin's Riyaz-us-Salatin and R. Chakrabarti's গৌড়ের ইতিহাস, while Nasaret is identified with Samsuddin II by Durgachandra Sanyal. It has now been conclusively proved that Bayazid and Samsuddin II were one and the same person. Bayazid only adopted the title of Samsuddin II and was never known as Raja Ganesh. A curious episode

has been related by Durgachandra Sanyal following Riyaz that an influential Mahomedan Pir (Saint) invited Sultan Ibrahim, the ruler of Jaunpur, to dethrone Ganesh. The Sultan came accordingly. Ganesh, to appease both the Pir and the Sultan (Ibrahim) had converted his son Jadu to Islam and placed him temporarily on the throne by way of a political move. It attained splendid success; for the Pir was satisfied and Ibrahim left Bengal quite contented. In this circumstance Jadu reigned for only about two years while his father Ganesh re-occupied the throne in 1416 A.D. According to the writer of Riyaz, Ganesh died in 1418 A.D. If we give any credence to this theory then Ganesh could not have reigned in 1405 A.D. In the coins issued by Jadu or Jitmal as Jelaluddin we find the dates 818 Heg. and 819 Heg. (*i.e.* 1415 A.D. and 1416 A.D.) when he ascended the throne during the life-time of Raja Ganesh.

As regards the date of Ganesh opinions of a conflicting nature exist making the problem as hard as ever. The writer of Riyaz places the reign between 1405-1414 A.D. But Durgachandra Sanyal wants to put the date of his actual coronation at 1414 A.D. Blochman suggests; as mentioned before, that Ganesh was the real ruler of the state for a long time even before his coronation in 1414 A.D. In that case Saifuddin and Bayazid could not have reigned for a long time and the period of reign attributed to Saifuddin (1393-1402 A.D.) and accepted by Rajanikanta Chakravarti seems to be untenable. As for Alauddin Feroz Shah, it may be safely surmised that he was probably trying the issue with Ganesh for some time, without any success. Some would believe that Ganesh killed Ghyasuddin Azam Shah himself in 1407 A.D.¹ But from the coins we know that Ghyasuddin was living as late as 1409 A.D., and was succeeded by three generations of descendants. We are, thus, inclined to dismiss

¹ See বালালীলা-দ্বয় by Īshān Nāgar.

the theory with the remark that Ganesh was perhaps growing powerful even as early as the reign of Azam Shah.

From the maze of theories, stories, hearsays and other more reliable evidences (which are more or less fragmentary and numismatic and historical evidences) it is very difficult to disentangle proper history.

However, recent historical researches have enabled us to get some new light on the subject. Mr. H. E. Stapleton wishes to put the date of Raja Ganesh's enthronement at 819 Heg. or 1416 A.D., and according to this scholar, he reigned at most for 5 or 6 years only, while according to Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali (his observations being based upon some coins) Ganesh could not have been on the throne of Gaur earlier than 817 Heg. (1414 A.D.) and could not have reigned after 821 Heg. (1418 A.D.; see প্রবাসী, ১৩৩০ সাল). So, these two scholars seem to have very little essential difference so far as the dates are concerned. These coins have been discovered in Maldah, Chittagong and in the locality of Subarnagrām. It is a significant fact that no coin in the name of Ganesh has yet been found. Many coins bearing the name of Danujmardan and dated 1339 *Śakābda* (1417 A.D.) and 1340 *Śakābda* (1418 A.D.) have been discovered.¹ If it is proved that Danujmardan and Ganesh were one and the same person then Ganesh was living and ruling as early as 1417 A.D. Again, according to R. D. Banerjee, Ganesh reigned between 1396-1415 A.D., being succeeded by Jadu. So no definite date for Ganesh can be obtained at this stage.

Inspite of all our attempts to give different versions current about Ganesh and his contemporary people, and to

¹ Rajanikanta Chakravarti mentions one significant fact in his গৌড়ের ইতিহাস; it is, "আড়াবানরাজ গণেশের সাহায্য করিতাহিলেন," etc. To corroborate this statement we find that a coin in the name of Danujmardan has been discovered which was minted at Chittagong. These go to prove at some length the theory that Ganesh and Danuj were one and the same person. See also in this connection in addition to Rajanikanta Chakravarti's history, Bhattasali's 'Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.'

give a cogent version from amongst the conflicting theories, it may be said, that the political history of Bengal of this period is shrouded in mystery. No definite conclusion is safe at this stage of enquiry. Sufficient coins are not yet to be found, and these too, are sometimes manufactured by interested persons or parties, while the same may also be said with vehemence about the testimony of literature, specially the genealogical literature, covering any disputed period. However, the day may yet arrive when the coins and literature may both be profitably utilised to arrive at a safe and definite conclusion.
